AFRICA RECOVERY

United Nations Department of Public Information Vol. 18 No. 1 April 2004

# Africa and Asia forge stronger alliances

*By Ernest Harsch*

In the Senegalese city of Thiès, a new enterprise, "Senbus," is assembling 30-seat buses for the domestic and regional markets. The first units of this first vehicle assembly factory in Senegal rolled out the plant's doors in September 2003, thanks to a partnership between Senegalese investors and Tata International, one of India's largest companies.

The factory is a "proud symbol of South-South cooperation," Indian Foreign Minister Digvijay Singh said at the inauguration ceremony. Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade commended the Indian government for "knowing how to convince the Indian private sector to invest in Senegal,

*turn to page 20*

*Also inside*

Women in politics
page 4

Therapy in frontline of AIDS war
page 9

Building peace in West Africa
page 12

Senegal strives for millennium goals
page 19

# contents

AFRICA RECOVERY
United Nations
Vol. 18 No. 1 April 2004

## In this Issue

Japan International Cooperation Agency

**Africa and Asia forge stronger alliances** ..... 1

Japan: a 'bridge' between Asia and Africa ..... 22

**The world reflects on Rwanda genocide** ..... 3

**Women break into African politics** ..... 4

**Massive "3 x 5" AIDS campaign gears up** ..... 6

**Moving therapy to frontline of AIDS war** ..... 9

**Building peace in West Africa**

Interview with Mohammed Ibn Chambas ..... 12

New UN mission in Côte d'Ivoire ..... 13

**Senegal strives for Millennium goals** ..... 16

**Pan-African Parliament now a reality** ..... 19

African 'peer review' gets going ..... 19

**Images of peacekeeping in Western Sahara** ..... 14

## Departments

Agenda ..... 26
Books ..... 26
Briefs ..... 27
Watch ..... 28

*Africa Recovery* is published in English and French by the Strategic Communications Division of the United Nations Department of Public Information, with support from UNDP, UNICEF and UNIFEM. Its contents do not necessarily reflect the views of the United Nations or the publication's supporting organizations. Material from this newsletter may be freely reproduced, with attribution, and a clipping would be appreciated.

Correspondence should be addressed to:
The Editor, Africa Recovery
Room S-955, United Nations, NY 10017 USA
Tel: (212) 963-6857 Fax: (212) 963-4556
e-mail: africa_recovery@un.org

**Subscribe to *Africa Recovery***

Annual subscriptions are available to individuals for $20 and to institutions for $35. Please send an international money order or make cheques payable in US dollars, drawn on a US bank, to the "United Nations" and send to Circulation at the address shown above. For those who lack the means to pay the subscription fee, a limited number of complimentary subscriptions are available. Please send a clearly written application to the editor.

Africa Recovery is printed on recycled paper.

**Editor-in-Chief**
Julie I. Thompson

**Managing Editor**
Ernest Harsch

**Writers**
Gumisai Mutume
Michael Fleshman

**Research Assistant**
Nirit Ben-Ari

**Production**
Parvati McPheeters

**Administrative Assistant**
Alice Wairimu Kariuki

**Distribution**
Atar Markman

**Visit our website:**
**www.africarecovery.org**
**Features include**
**• New releases**
**• Subject index • Search**

# The world reflects on Rwanda genocide

*Annan urges action to prevent future tragedies*

By **Ernest Harsch**

Ten years after one of the most horrific genocides of the 20th century, Rwanda is still in the process of rebuilding its devastated society. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, meanwhile, is challenging the international community to take steps to avert any similar catastrophe anywhere in the world. On 7 April — the anniversary of the start of the 1994 mass killings in Rwanda — he will outline a UN plan of action to prevent genocide.

"There can be no more binding obligation for the international community than the prevention of genocide," Mr. Annan remarked this past February. "The events in Rwanda 10 years ago were especially shameful. The international community clearly had the capacity to prevent those events, but failed to summon the will. . . . We must ensure that we never again fail to summon the will."

One of the centrepieces of the plan will be appointment of a new UN special adviser on the prevention of genocide. The adviser will be mandated to collect information on situations that may lead to genocide, issue early warnings of impending disaster and make recommendations for action to the Secretary-General and the UN Security Council.

The UN action plan, which is inspired by the recommendations in 1999 of an independent commission of inquiry into the Rwanda genocide chaired by former Swedish Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, will involve the whole UN system. Many elements of such a plan have already been put into place, including reforms in the way the UN responds to armed conflicts.

Since the Rwanda genocide, the UN also has been more proactive in responding to massive human rights violations, which often are signs of a genocide-in-the-making. As Mr. Annan declared at an international forum in Stockholm on 26 January, "We must attack the roots of violence and genocide. These are intolerance, racism, tyranny and the dehumanizing public discourse that denies whole groups of people their dignity and rights. We must protect especially the rights of minorities, since they are genocide's most frequent targets."

### 100 days of horror

The Rwanda genocide began on 7 April 1994, a day after a plane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi was shot down as it prepared to land in Kigali, the Rwandan capital. Over the next 100 days, approximately 800,000 Rwandans were slaughtered. The genocide was highly organized, with top government and ruling party officials playing a direct role. Militia members, the armed forces and civilians carried out appalling atrocities, mainly against the Tutsi ethnic minority, but also against those from the Hutu majority who refused to join in the slaughter or belonged to opposition parties.

The genocide was perpetrated in full view of the international community. A peacekeeping operation — the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) — was on the ground, with about 2,000 troops, originally sent to monitor implementation of an August 1993 peace agreement between the government and rebel forces of the Uganda-based Rwanda Patriotic Front (RPF).

After the genocide began, 10 Belgian peacekeepers were killed trying to defend Prime Minister Agathe Uwilingiyimana, who also was slain. The then UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali approached the Security Council with three options: reinforce UNAMIR, scale it down or withdraw it entirely. The Security Council voted to reduce the force from 2,000 to 270. Only in mid-May did the Council reverse the decision and vote to dispatch some 5,500 UN troops. Few arrived before the massacres ended in July, when the Tutsi-dominated RPF took power.

United Nations / DPI

*Secretary-General lays a wreath at a genocide site in Mwurire, Rwanda, during a 1998 visit.*

The Carlsson Commission report later concluded: "The responsibility for the failings of the United Nations to prevent and stop the genocide in Rwanda lies with a number of actors, in particular the Secretary-General, the [UN] Secretariat, the Security Council, UNAMIR and the broader membership of the United Nations."

On the day the report was released, Mr. Annan — who headed UN peacekeeping at the time of the genocide — said: "All of us must bitterly regret that we did not do more to prevent it. . . . On behalf of the

turn to page 25

# Women break into African politics

*Quota systems allow more women to gain elected office*

*By Gumisai Mutume*

Women in Rwanda now top the world rankings of women in national parliaments, with 49 per cent of representation compared to a world average of 15.1 per cent. This year the country commemorates the genocide of 1994, when Rwandan women suffered death, humiliation, persecution and sexual abuse during a 100-day massacre that left more than 800,000 people dead.

As the country undergoes a period of reconstruction, women are taking an active role. They not only head about a third of all households, but have also taken up many jobs that were formerly the preserve of men, as in construction and mechanics.

However, their most notable achievement has been in politics. Thanks to a new constitution, 24 out of 80 seats in the lower house of parliament are reserved for women. During the country's September 2003 general election, the first after the genocide, an additional 15 women were voted into non-reserved seats, bringing 39 into the lower house. In the upper house, 6 out of 20 seats are reserved for women. To attain this, Rwandan women lobbied heavily, helped to draft the new constitution and developed voting guidelines that guaranteed seats for women candidates. They were also able to push for the creation of a government ministry of women's affairs to promote policies in favour of women's interests.

"Especially in post-conflict situations, where new constitutions and legislative structures are being created, it is critical that women are present at the peace table and in post-war policy-making," says UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Executive Director Noeleen Heyzer. The agency participated in post-genocide reconstruction in Rwanda, helping women to prepare for political office.

"It will be interesting to see what the entry of so many women in the national assembly will do for politics in Rwanda," says the Inter-Parliamentary Union, a Geneva-based organization representing 138 parliaments worldwide. IPU President Anders Johnsson observes that the European Nordic countries have an established history of women's participation in decision-making, but that Rwanda now overtakes the long-time leader, Sweden, where women constitute 45 per cent of parliamentarians.

UNDP / Julia Pulowski

*Three of the 39 women elected to Rwanda's legislature in September 2003. From left: Constance Rwaka, Solange Tuyisenge and Athanasie Gahondogo.*

### Women in politics

The drive to promote women in decision-making positions worldwide gained momentum during the 1980s and early 1990s through a series of international conferences. Further impetus came from the Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing, China, in 1995, which called for at least 30 per cent representation by women in national governments. In September 2000 at the UN Millennium Summit in New York, world leaders pledged to "promote gender equality and the empowerment of women as effective ways to combat poverty, hunger and disease and to stimulate development that is truly sustainable." At that meeting, world leaders adopted the goal of gender equality and seven others, known collectively as the Millennium Development Goals. Since then, the number of women in leadership positions has been rising.

**Despite being one of the poorest regions in the world, the level of women's representation in parliament in sub-Saharan Africa is higher than in many wealthier countries.**

"Study after study has shown that there is no effective development strategy in which women do not play a central role," says UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. When women are fully involved, he notes, the benefits are immediate — families are healthier and better fed and their income, savings and investments go up. "And what is true of families is also true of communities and, in the long run, of whole countries."

Rwanda's success in bringing women to the political table mirrors that of a small, but growing number of countries in sub-Saharan Africa. In South Africa and Mozambique, for example, women hold 30 per cent of the seats in parliament — matching the international target. Women's representation in national parliaments across sub-Saharan Africa equals the world average of about 15 per cent. Despite being one of the poorest regions in the world, the level of women's representation in parliament in sub-Saharan Africa is higher than in many wealthier countries, observes UNIFEM in its *Progress of the World's Women 2002* report. In the US, France and Japan for instance, women

hold slightly more than 10 per cent of parliamentary seats.

Voter in Mpumalanga, South Africa: Main responsibility for change lies with women themselves.

Mike Hutchings / Eric Miller

**Quota systems**

Between 2000 and 2002, elections were held in 23 countries in sub-Saharan Africa, with increases in women parliamentarians in 14 of them. Most of the countries that have achieved significant increases in women's participation have done so through the use of quotas — a form of affirmative action in favour of women. Worldwide, about 30 of the world's more than 190 countries apply some form of female quotas in politics.

In Uganda, says Ms. Beatrice Kiraso, who was elected to parliament in 1996, quotas kick-started the process of improving women's participation in national politics. A cycle began in which "women gained confidence in women, opening up even more avenues." Uganda's quota system evolved from the current government's origins in a guerrilla war during the 1980s, when women fought alongside men in the National Resistance Army (NRA).

In each of the zones the rebels won, local councils were set up, with each including a secretary for women's affairs. Eventually when the NRA came to power in 1986, it introduced the system into national politics. By 1994, the government of President Yoweri Museveni appointed Dr. Wandira Kazibwe as vice president, making her one of the highest ranking women in politics on the continent.

In South Africa too, women played a key role in the national liberation struggle and today are benefiting from a quota system adopted by the ruling African National Congress (ANC).

In Africa, there are three main quota systems:

- *Constitutional quotas.* Some countries, including Burkina Faso and Uganda, have constitutional provisions reserving seats in national parliament for women.
- *Election law quotas.* Provisions are written into national legislation, as in Sudan.
- *Political party quotas.* Parties adopt internal rules to include a certain percentage of women as candidates for office. This is the case with the governing parties in South Africa and Mozambique.

**Lack of support**

However, while introducing quotas provides a means of addressing the gender imbalance in decision-making, the practice often lacks support from important political actors or meets opposition in societies that have strong patriarchal traditions. Much like the debate around affirmative action, those opposed to quota systems say they discriminate against men.

The Zambia National Women's Lobby Group accuses its government of lacking political will. While the Zambian government has ratified a number of international instruments to promote women in politics, the group reports, none "have been domesticated." Cultural and traditional practices subjecting women to male dominance have also hindered women's progress in achieving gender equality in politics. Women face barriers such as "conflict, intimidation, negative attitudes, stereotypes by society and lack of support from the electorate," notes the group.

The Stockholm-based Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) reports that women politicians across the globe confront a "masculine model" of politics. In many cases they lack political party support and have no access to quality education and training to enter politics. "Political life is organized for male norms and values and in many cases even for male life-styles," notes Ms. Margaret Dongo, a Zimbabwean politician. "But this must and will change." Zimbabwe is one of four countries in sub-Saharan Africa where the proportion of female parliamentarians declined during elections in 2000-02.

Legislated quotas are "hopelessly wrong," Chief Whip Douglas Gibson of the opposition Democratic Alliance in South Africa told the women's advocacy group Gender Links. "Would you then say that 10 per cent of the cricket team should be white and the rest black because that is the make up of the nation? You would not, because not everyone wants to play cricket." Unlike the ruling ANC, the Democratic Alliance does not reserve seats for women.

**More needs to be done**

Simply increasing women's share of seats in parliament alone is not a solution, notes the UNIFEM report. It does not guarantee that they will make decisions that benefit the majority of women. "It can only level the playing field on which women battle for equality," reports the UN agency. Many factors hinder elected women from promoting laws that aid women. These may include limits on policy choices parliamentarians can make due to the loan conditions set by international financial

turn to page 25

# Massive AIDS campaign gears up

## *But financing for treatment remains short of needs*

*By Michael Fleshman*

Almost a decade ago, the development of an effective treatment for the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) that causes AIDS opened an ugly new gap in the global divide between rich and poor. People in wealthy countries could get the expensive new drugs, known as anti-retrovirals (ARVs), and live. For people in poor countries, there would be no drugs, only the certainty of a slow and agonizing death. And die they did, in the millions.

AFP / Getty Images / Rajesh Jantilal

*AIDS activists in South Africa: anti-retroviral medicines now give some hope for the future.*

Declaring the inability of the poor to obtain HIV/AIDS medications "a global health emergency," the director-general of the UN's World Health Organization (WHO), Dr. Lee Jong-wook, launched a global drive to provide life-extending ARVs to 3 million people, including 2 million in Africa, by the end of 2005. It is known as the "3x5" campaign.

About 6 million people worldwide currently require ARVs, which are prescribed only to those in the last stages of the disease. It is also a long-term commitment, since the drugs do not cure the disease and must continue for life. "To deliver antiretroviral treatment to the millions who need it we must change the way we think and change the way we act," noted Dr. Lee. "Business as usual will not work. Business as usual means watching thousands of people die every single day."

For 30 million HIV-positive people in Africa, it is a matter of life or death. HIV, which attacks the body's natural defences against infection, has had its greatest impact in sub-Saharan Africa, where poverty, weak public health systems, fear of stigmatization and the high cost of testing and treatment have allowed the virus to spread virtually unchecked. The UN estimates that no more than 100,000 of the over 4 million Africans who need ARV medications receive them.

The campaign will be modelled after WHO's emergency response to the SARS epidemic, a highly infectious respiratory illness that was quickly contained by a coordinated global effort last year. WHO technical experts will be dispatched to countries to help local authorities establish testing, distribution and treatment facilities. WHO will also develop standardized and simplified treatment protocols, design training schemes for 100,000 additional health workers and create a central information clearing-house on drug quality, availability and prices.

It is a hugely ambitious undertaking, intended to increase the number of people on ARV treatment 10-fold in just two years. It is also a victory for Africa, said Ms. Milly Katana, the lobbying and advocacy director for the non-governmental Health Rights Action Group in Uganda. Speaking from her home in Kampala, Ms. Katana, who also sits on the board of the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, told *Africa Recovery* that "for years we argued with the donors, the multinational drug companies and even some private foundations and non-governmental groups that treatment was possible. And we heard every kind of excuse why it could not be done." Now, the argument is not whether to treat the poor but how. "That is the breakthrough," she said. "The 3x5 campaign is a victory for the efforts and struggles of people in Africa living with HIV/AIDS."

### Treatment 'must be possible'

But can it be done? Interviewed by *Africa Recovery* in New York in early February, the 3x5 campaign director, Dr. Paolo Teixeira, readily acknowledged that the technical, financial and political obstacles to success are enormous. "It will take a huge effort, an unprecedented effort, by all the stakeholders if we are to go from having 300,000 people in poor countries [on ARVs] to 3 million in just two years," he said. "Governments, civil society, donors, multilateral agencies, drug companies, non-governmental organizations [NGOs], and even WHO must come together as never before.... Our targets are difficult but they are possible," he continued. "They must be possible. Think of the lives that are at stake."

Dr. Teixeira, an architect of Brazil's model national treatment programme before joining WHO, argued that a number of factors make this the right time for a global commitment to treatment access, including:

- *Drug prices.* Pressure from people living with HIV/AIDS and competition from low-cost manufacturers of generic copies of patented ARV drugs

have seen prices drop in recent years from $12,000 — $15,000 annually to as low as $300 per year in developing countries. A recent agreement between some generics manufacturers and former US President Bill Clinton could bring the price down to $140 a year — less than 40 cents per day.

- *Greater political will.* More political leaders in Africa and other developing regions, after years of denial, have taken leadership of national HIV/AIDS efforts.
- *Proven models.* Uganda's success in sharply reducing HIV infection rates with aggressive education and prevention programmes demonstrates that the disease can be halted even in very poor countries. Pilot programmes by Médecins sans Frontières and other non-governmental groups have proved that HIV/AIDS can be treated in countries without sophisticated health services.
- *Improved technology.* The development of a single pill that combines three of the most effective ARV compounds has greatly reduced the cost and complexity of treatment programmes. The new tablet, together with improved testing, monitoring and diagnostic techniques, has eliminated many technical barriers to treatment in developing countries.

"We know what to do, we know how to do it and we know it can be done," Dr. Teixeira said. "Now it is a question of will."

Under existing treatment programmes, WHO expects that the number of people on ARVs in developing countries will grow from 300,000 to 935,000 by the end of 2005. The 3x5 campaign seeks to increase that number by 2 million, Dr. Teixeira noted, and will require at least $5 bn in new money over the next two years. The search for those funds, he added, is only just beginning.

### US programme is key

In a detailed survey of global HIV/AIDS funding sources, researcher Jennifer Cates, HIV policy director for the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation in the US, found that in 2003 about half of all funding for HIV/AIDS programmes in poor countries came in the form of bilateral official development assistance. Developing countries raised another 25 per cent from domestic sources, with the balance coming from multilateral donors like the Global Fund and the World Bank, private donors and UN agencies (see table below). "Funding from all sources has been rising steadily in recent years and the trend appears set to continue," she noted. "But it remains well below the levels UNAIDS [the Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS] estimates is needed — and that was true even before the 3x5 campaign financing requirements are factored in."

***"It will take a huge effort, an unprecedented effort, by all the stakeholders if we are to go from having 300,000 people in poor countries [on ARVs] to 3 million in just two years.... Our targets are difficult but they are possible."***

*— Dr. Paolo Teixeira, 3x5 campaign director*

Africa Recovery / Michael Reichman

Funding for treatment received a dramatic boost on 23 February, when the US government launched its President's Emergency Programme for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) in Washington. The plan commits the US to a 5-year, $15 bn effort to provide ARVs for 2 million people in 14 countries in Africa and the Caribbean. Botswana, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Rwanda, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda and Zambia will participate, together with Haiti and Guyana in the Caribbean.

According to analysts, the US will spend about $5 bn on existing bilateral HIV/AIDS programmes in about 100 countries over the next five years and has committed a minimum of $200 mn annually to the Global Fund. PEPFAR therefore represents some $9 bn in additional funding — an amount that the programme's head, Mr. Randall Tobias, has asserted is "more money than has ever been committed by any nation for any health care initiative." A third of the funding, $5 bn, will be spent to promote sexual abstinence.

Mr. Tobias, a former chief executive of the Eli Lilly pharmaceutical company, also announced that that the first installment of the new funding, $335 mn, would underwrite ARV treatment for 137,000 people over the next 5 years. PEPFAR's $2.4 bn budget for 2004 is nearly equal to total global spending on HIV/AIDS in developing countries in 2002.

### Bilateral programmes, global needs

In theory, PEPFAR alone could meet the 3x5 target of 2 million additional people on treatment, although on a longer time frame. WHO officials welcome the initiative as a big step towards the campaign's goals. But many commentators, including the UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy on HIV/AIDS in Africa Stephen Lewis, question the effectiveness of bilateral responses to the global epidemic, calling instead for increased support for the Global Fund.

There is no question that funding for treatment and prevention programmes will continue to flow bilaterally, Mr. Lewis told *Africa Recovery*. "And every penny that does ... is welcome. But there are significant drawbacks to bilateral programmes. For one thing, donor countries pick and choose, so countries that desperately need funds are excluded." Under PEPFAR, he noted, some of the most heavily affected countries, including

**Sources of funding for global HIV/AIDS, 2003 ($ mn)**

| | |
|---|---|
| US government, bilateral | 852 |
| Other governments, bilateral | 1,163 |
| Global Fund (HIV/AIDS only) | 547 |
| UN agencies | 350 |
| World Bank (grant equivalent) | 120 |
| NGOs/private donors | 200 |
| Affected country governments (domestic) | 1,000 |
| Total | [illegible] |

* Budgeted; actual spending totaled $3,600 mn.

Source: Kaiser Family Foundation.

Swaziland, Lesotho, Malawi and Zimbabwe, are excluded. "That's one of the problems with bilateral funding."

"Very often," he said, "the donor will dictate uses of their funds which are not consistent with the national AIDS policies of recipient governments.... The Global Fund speaks to a process which is rooted at the country level, and in which virtually every stakeholder has participated."

Another potential problem is coordination between PEPFAR and the 3x5 campaign on such fundamental issues as drug procurement. The primary ARV medication for the 3x5 campaign, the triple combination tablet, is currently available only from low-cost generic suppliers. Activists fear that the US, which resisted changes in World Trade Organization rules to make generics cheaper and more available, is planning to use only costly patented drugs from US companies.

US officials bristle at the suggestion, noting that PEPFAR guidelines specifically permit both patent holders and generics manufacturers to bid on supply tenders. Critics have responded, however, that language elsewhere in the PEPFAR plan could prohibit the purchase of generic drugs. They note that the US has continued to press for restrictive patent protections in regional and bilateral trade negotiations.

Some US drug manufacturers are also challenging the safety and quality of the triple combination tablet. Although WHO has approved the pill for use, some companies argue that it could speed up resistance to the current generation of antiretroviral drugs and encourage counterfeiting. A meeting between senior US and WHO officials is set for later this year to coordinate policy.

Jake Price

*Another AIDS coffin: Will there be enough funds to stem the epidemic's deadly toll?*

### Finding the resources

Even with PEPFAR, however, overall global spending on HIV/AIDS in developing countries will remain well short of requirements, and the need is rising. According to UNAIDS, a minimum of $8.3 bn is needed for 2004, a number that will rise to $10.7 bn in 2005 and nearly $15 bn in 2007. Because ARV treatment must continue for life, drug access programmes like PEPFAR and the 3x5 campaign will increase demand.

The Global Fund is one potential source of additional resources. Launched in 2001 as a multilateral funding agency to accelerate the international response to HIV/AIDS, malaria and tuberculosis, the Fund reports it has approved $2.1 bn in multi-year grants in 121 countries to date, including about $750 mn for HIV/AIDS programmes in Africa. Dr. Richard Feacham, executive director of the Global Fund, told reporters in September that the facility would be the "principal" funding vehicle for the 3x5 effort.

But the Fund has not succeeded in securing the multibillion-dollar pledges needed for a rapid scale-up of treatment programmes. According to Ms. Cates, technical reasons have hampered the disbursement of funds, with just $164 mn reaching approved projects as of December 2003.

Although 60 per cent of Global Fund grants have gone for HIV/AIDS programmes, only a portion of those funds are earmarked for treatment. Without significant increases in contributions, the Global Fund is only expected to underwrite ARV treatment for 240,000 people by the end of 2005 — about 8 per cent of the 3x5 goal.

The World Bank has also stepped up support for HIV/AIDS prevention and treatment. Since it first began lending for HIV/AIDS projects in 1986, the Bank reports that it has committed $2.2 bn to combat the disease in more than 50 countries. That includes a $1 bn fund for Africa, the Multi-country HIV/AIDS Programme, established in June 2001. To date, $865 mn in concessionary loans and grants have been approved in 24 African countries.

But even the Bank's very low interest loans have to be repaid, and some indebted countries have been reluctant to borrow more for HIV/AIDS programmes. In its estimates of global spending, UNAIDS calculates the difference between the amount provided and the amount to be repaid to arrive at a "grant value equivalent" for such World Bank financing. The adjusted figures totalled $95 mn in 2002 and $120 mn in 2003.

Debt relief through the Heavily Indebted Poor Countries initiative has also released money. The Bank reports that 24 African countries have received some degree of debt relief, permitting some to increase spending on HIV/AIDS programmes. But one activist group, Jubilee USA Network, estimates that even after debt reduction, African governments spend an average of $14 per person annually on debt payments, compared to $5 for health care.

"What should be happening at this moment is that the treasuries of the Western world should be falling open and money should be pouring in," said Mr. Lewis. "But there is a huge gap — several billions of dollars — between what governments are prepared to spend and what the requirements really are. On those billions of dollars, millions of lives hang." Failure to mobilize the resources for the 3x5 campaign, he concluded, "would be an incomparable tragedy, a continuing astonishing delinquency on the part of the rich nations of the world." ■

# Moving therapy to frontline of AIDS war

*Wider drugs provision can prolong lives, avert economic collapse*

By **Daphne Topouzis**

Just a decade ago, treatment for HIV/AIDS did not exist. A positive HIV test meant certain — and imminent — death for every man, woman and child. Today, however, therapy relying on anti-retroviral drugs (ARVs) which attack the virus that causes AIDS can transform the sure death sentence into a more chronic condition, enabling those suffering to live much longer, healthier lives. Technically, anti-retroviral therapy is feasible throughout the world. The cost of the medicines has come down dramatically.

Even in the poorest parts of Africa, the possibilities are already evident. In Khayelitsha, an impoverished township in Cape Town, South Africa, a provincial government-run programme was launched in 1999 to prevent mother-to-child transmission of HIV, using Zidovudine, an ARV. Two years later the programme broadened to include more comprehensive anti-retroviral therapy (ART), in response to very high death rates among patients. Most were very sick when they began therapy, but within six months their counts of CD4 T cells (which orchestrate the body's immune response) rose dramatically, and after nine months, 88 per cent of patients were still alive, with few serious side effects.

Comparable results were seen in another pilot ARV programme at a small rural health centre attached to Masaka hospital in southern Uganda, funded by the US-based AIDS Healthcare Foundation. Of the 53 original patients in the programme, three died and three experienced minor side effects. The rest improved dramatically.

"When death is around you," commented one doctor in South Africa, people "have no trouble" adhering to the therapy's regimen of taking ARVs. "ARV therapy can be delivered successfully by an NGO-driven programme to an informed and educated rural patient population," he concluded.

These results demonstrate that the weakness of Africa's health systems is not an insurmountable obstacle to delivery of ARV therapy, even in rural areas. Yet, experts point out, it remains essential to strengthen public health care systems with additional government and donor funding.

*Daphne Topouzis is a Rome-based consultant who has been working on issues of HIV/AIDS, food security, agriculture and rural development in Africa since 1992.*

World Health Organization / Eric Miller

*Getting an anti-retroviral prescription in Botswana.*

**A small beginning**

ARV treatment programmes across much of Africa are still in their infancy. Botswana is treating about 7,500 people, Nigeria 15,000, Uganda 10,000, Malawi 3,000, Cameroon 6,000 and Senegal 1,500. The overwhelming majority of those receiving ART live in cities and towns, although a few countries, such as Uganda and South Africa, are trying to extend treatment into rural areas.

**Of the more than 4 million Africans now requiring anti-retroviral treatment, only 70,000-100,000 are receiving it. With the drastic fall in drug prices, there is a real opportunity to expand treatment.**

Some of the ART programmes provide the drugs free of charge (as in Botswana and Ghana), but most are subsidized. The Zambian government, for example, is currently rolling out subsidized ARVs to 10,000 of the 300,000 people who need them, at a cost of about $5 per month. Kenya has just announced that by 2005, the government will provide free ARVs to 140,000 individuals living with HIV-AIDS.

A handful of countries are going a step further by setting up factories to produce generic ARVs. In Zambia, a joint venture between two international pharmaceutical companies and a local firm will start producing generic medicines before June 2004. In Uganda, a local company is in the process of setting up a factory to manufacture ARVs before the end of 2004 for the country's estimated 100,000 people living with HIV/AIDS, aiming to provide the drugs at a cost of less than 50 cents per day.

Of the more than 4 million Africans estimated to now require treatment, only about 70,000-100,000 are currently receiving it. With the drastic fall in the price of the drugs and the encouraging results of existing programmes, some health and development practitioners in Africa see a real opportunity to greatly expand the scale of ARV treatment, accelerate HIV prevention efforts and change the course of the epidemic.

The alternative is alarming. "If we don't find ways of providing ART in a

sustainable manner, we may have to face the collapse of socio-economic systems across Africa," argues Prof. Desmond Cohen, a former director for HIV and development at the UN Development Programme who currently is assisting countries to scale up their treatment and care responses.

In recognition of the urgency, the UN's World Health Organization (WHO) in 2003 launched a "Treat 3 million by 2005 Initiative." It aims to provide 3 million people living in developing countries with ART and access to related medical services by the end of 2005 (see page 6).

**In South Africa, Uganda and other African countries that have begun treatment programmes, therapy has shown the potential to restore hope for the future — provided quick and decisive measures are taken.**

### Buying time, easing burdens

Improving Africans' access to these life-saving drugs is not only a moral imperative, but makes good economic sense. "ART buys time, human resources, memory, skills and the future," Prof. Tony Barnett of the London School of Economics, who has been working on HIV/AIDS since 1988, told *Africa Recovery*.

By prolonging lives, ART significantly reduces the worst short-term effects of the epidemic. People living with AIDS will remain productive for longer and be better able to provide their families with food, shelter, education, health care and socialization.

There will be fewer orphans and vulnerable children — a growing burden in Africa today. To date, a staggering 12 million children have lost one or both parents to the epidemic. In parts of Zimbabwe and Zambia some foster families have become impoverished and are no longer willing to take in orphans. Treatment therefore can relieve some of the pressure on Africa's traditional socio-economic safety nets.

Access to treatment also will help stem erosion in the capacity of formal and informal institutions, especially disruptions in the delivery of basic services such as health, education and agricultural extension because of high levels of illness and death among their personnel. Across Africa, ministries of agriculture and other rural institutions are losing staff and finding it harder to address serious food security and rural development problems.

Those working with people living with AIDS recognize that treatment is not just about improving the health of individuals, but also the survival and socio-economic well-being of entire households and communities. In Mbabane, Swaziland, at a meeting in August 2003 with the Swaziland AIDS Support Organization, participants emphasized that the epidemic affects every household in the country, urban or rural, rich or poor. Two founding members of the Network of Zambian People Living with HIV/AIDS in Lusaka made a similar point. Access to ART services, they said, should be the top priority not only for people living with AIDS, but also for their families and for their countries, given the magnitude of young adult morbidity and mortality in most of East and Southern Africa and parts of Central and West Africa.

### Costs and benefits

Some economists have long argued that improving access to ARVs is not a sound investment of scarce resources in Africa, and that alternative uses for those funds would bring greater social benefits. That argument was based on an often-crude calculation of the costs of ARV treatment and related services.

This approach overlooks some of the "hidden" benefits of treatment. For example, managing patients on ART may be less costly in the long term than managing patients not receiving therapy. Many such patients are frequently ill with opportunistic infections, which are often difficult to diagnose and treat and may require repeated hospitalizations. In contrast, patients on ART rapidly experience dramatic improvements in their health. As a doctor in Botswana argued, "With the time we spend on one patient who is in intensive care, we could treat 5-10 patients who are not so ill."

Therefore, a substantial percentage of the costs incurred by ARV purchases will be offset by drops in hospitalizations and the time of health care personnel, as already demonstrated in Brazil. That is likely to be the case in parts of Southern Africa as well. South Africa, for instance, now spends about $400 mn on care and treatment of people with AIDS, according to a 2003 study by the University of Cape Town and Médecins sans Frontières.

Moreover, the long-term economic costs must be factored into the equation. These include losses in economic growth rates ranging between 0.3 per cent and 1.5 per cent annually, because of lost production, higher health costs and other impacts. Although they are difficult to quantify, there also are longer-term costs related to social reproduction, declines in the capacity of institutions and losses in the knowledge and skills of the poor over several generations.

### An incentive for testing

ARVs are also proving to be a powerful instrument for HIV prevention. Until recently, an argument frequently heard in Africa was: "Why should anyone test for HIV if there is no access to treatment?" According to a 2003 study by Médecins sans Frontières and WHO of the ARV treatment programme in Khayelitsha township in South Africa, that experience demonstrates that treatment promotes prevention because it:

- motivates people to want to know their sero-status — without treatment as an option, knowledge that one is HIV-positive offers little more than stigmatization
- promotes openness and reduces stigma, as HIV is no longer an inevitable death sentence
- helps keep families intact and economically stable, thereby protecting the most vulnerable (women and children) and minimizing the number of people at risk.

"Prevention and treatment are complementary, not competing priorities," Joint UN Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) Executive Director Peter Piot has argued. "Prevention secures the future. Treatment saves lives and money immediately." And by accelerating HIV prevention efforts, treatment also is an investment in the future.

**Beyond the health sector**

So far, support for scaling up ARVs has come mostly from the health sector and has focused on providing treatment in urban areas. But the magnitude of the task of delivering ART to all those who need it, or at least to the WHO target of 3 million people by 2005, in urban as well as rural areas, is of such a scope that Africa's health care systems cannot undertake this alone. Many of the constraints to the provision of ART are socio-economic and socio-cultural, including the low status of women, poverty, food insecurity, and the stigma attached to HIV/AIDS, which prevents many people from seeking treatment.

The challenge is to tackle access to ARVs not only as a medical issue, but also as a multi-sectoral, development priority that touches upon all sectors, from agriculture and rural development to industry and education. This gap can be filled when those outside the health field act to support access to these drugs not only for treatment purposes, but also to minimize the effects of the epidemic on their particular sector. Botswana's success in bringing together various ministries and institutions for HIV prevention at the district level points towards such an approach for treatment as well.

One response so far to the ravages of AIDS on the productivity of rural communities has been to promote labour-saving agricultural and domestic technologies, such as inter-cropping to reduce weeding time, lighter ploughs that can be used by youth, women and the elderly, and fuel-efficient stoves. By themselves, however, such technologies may not be of much help to households with chronically ill young adults whose first priority is caring for ailing family members, managing their own illnesses and seeking treatment for opportunistic infections.

In such conditions, argued Prof. Barnett, "It is ART which is labour-saving." With therapy, the health of household members would improve sufficiently to enable them to adopt new technologies. More broadly, the effectiveness of agricultural programmes' core activities could be enhanced if they linked labour-saving technologies and other agricultural services with health care and ARV therapy through partnerships with public health systems and community organizations.

ARV treatment can also be linked with focused food security and nutrition measures. Some donor agencies, such as the UN's World Food Programme (WFP), are already moving in this direction. "WFP comes into the picture because treatment and nutritious food go together," Mr. Robin Jackson, head of WFP's HIV/AIDS Unit, told *Africa Recovery*. "People living with HIV/AIDS who are on ART need access to food if the treatment is to be effective."

The organization is giving food aid to tuberculosis patients, one in three of whom are infected with HIV; the food makes it easier for them to continue and complete medical treatment. WFP is also participating in preventing mother-to-child transmission programmes and providing food aid packages for orphans in school.

Primary health care systems in rural areas and poor urban communities can be strengthened by establishing partnerships with specialized NGOs that deliver ART. The success of the Khayelitsha programme has been attributed largely to community involvement (in selecting the patients for ARV therapy), educating patients to take responsibility for their own treatment and restoring hope among a community devastated by HIV/AIDS.

"What is important about the Khayelitsha model is that it is providing ART, successfully, in partnership with the community," argues Prof. Cohen. "This approach can also serve to access rural populations and strengthen the ways in which these [efforts] address the underlying issues that contribute to HIV infection, such as poverty and food insecurity."

ARV therapy, by itself, is not the solution to the AIDS crisis. According to Mr. Jackson of the WFP, even if the 3 million people who are targeted for ARV treatment are reached, "another 15 million dependants and relatives as well as those not receiving treatment will continue to suffer from the knock-on effects of the epidemic. These people should not be forgotten."

The experience so far indicates that ART can be an integral part of the solution — along with prevention, care, mitigation of the epidemic's adverse impacts and, on the medical side, the development of vaccines and other remedies. Therapy will prolong the lives of those living with HIV/AIDS, alleviate suffering, save money and protect future generations by strengthening prevention.

At a time when many young rural Africans are wondering why they should plant crops if they may soon die, hope is scarce. But in South Africa, Uganda and other African countries that have begun treatment programmes, therapy has shown the potential to restore hope for the future — provided quick and decisive measures are taken. Inaction and delay could well plunge African societies into a downward spiral from which they may not recover. ■

AFP / Getty Images / Alexander Joe

*18-year-old heads her family in Mozambique, after parents died of AIDS.*

# Building peace in West Africa

*Mohamed Ibn Chambas: 'We are not shy about taking the initiative'*

Mohamed Ibn Chambas

Mr. Mohamed Ibn Chambas was elected executive secretary of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) by the region's heads of state, and took up his duties in February 2002. At the time, he was a member of parliament in Ghana, after previously holding several cabinet positions, including deputy minister of foreign affairs. He took part in Commonwealth missions to facilitate transitions to constitutional rule in Nigeria, Sierra Leone and the Gambia, and between 1991 and 1996 was centrally involved in ECOWAS mediation efforts in Liberia. In New York for an International Reconstruction Conference on Liberia in early February, he shared with Africa Recovery his thoughts on the challenges of bringing peace to West Africa.

***When ECOWAS was originally formed, its main mission was to promote the region's economic integration. But in recent years, a number of countries in the region have experienced severe internal conflicts. To what extent have peace and security issues become a greater concern for ECOWAS, and how have they affected other aspects of the organization's activities?***

**Chambas:** You're right. From the name, it's an economic community. It was designed by the founding fathers to increase economic cooperation and see how the countries of the subregion could work together to improve economic performance, benefit from economies of scale and achieve greater integration. Regrettably, particularly over the last decade and a half, the prevalance of conflicts in the subregion has distracted our countries from concentrating on development.

Happily, we may be seeing a turn for the better, a reduction in conflicts. Working with the international community, we have brought the situation in Sierra Leone under control. Sierra Leone today is one of the happy stories in West Africa. In the last year, we have seen tremendous progress in Liberia. We hope that this time around we will be able to bring closure to this very sad chapter in the history of Liberia. The conflict that erupted in Côte d'Ivoire could have had very destabilizing consequences if ECOWAS had not moved in a timely fashion. We have gotten the support of the international community, in particular France, but also the US, the UK, the Netherlands and the EU. They have been very supportive of us in arresting that situation.

But all these activities mean that I, as chief executive, have to devote a lot of my time addressing these issues, rather than looking at how we can establish free trade in West Africa, build a regional infrastructure to improve communications and the road network — which would enhance our competitiveness — and how we can build a customs union. Yet progress has been slow because of the inordinate time spent on peace and security issues. Yet at the same time we know that without a solid foundation of peace, security and stability, whatever efforts we make in the area of socio-economic development will come to naught.

*ECOWAS has already been very active in peacekeeping efforts. Should it be doing more to try to prevent conflicts beforehand, through political mediation, as happened after the September 2003 military coup in Guinea-Bissau?*

**Chambas:** We have to get more pre-emptive, anticipate and have early warning systems in place. We are strengthening our capacity in that area. We have now four regional bureaus, observatories, which are supposed to do a deeper analysis of the situation in the cluster of countries that each bureau covers. They are to send us signals if a situation may be heating up politically. We also have a Council of Elders that we can use to try to defuse the situation. We are also using the mechanism of our meetings of heads of state to see how, among themselves, they can talk frankly to each other and prevent situations from getting out of hand. Regrettably, we have not shown the courage and the determination to move in a timely fashion to prevent situations of crisis from deepening. And when it has gotten out of hand, it has cost us in the subregion and the wider international community much more to resolve the crisis then. So you will see more activity from ECOWAS in the area of early warning, in the area of preventative and pre-emptive diplomacy.

***In Liberia last year, ECOWAS was very quick in getting peacekeeping troops on the ground. Those forces have now been brought into the UN Mission in Liberia (UNMIL). What is the role of ECOWAS now in Liberia?***

**Chambas:** We still have a role to play. The comprehensive peace agreement envisages an implementation monitoring committee, to be chaired by the special representative of the executive secretary of ECOWAS. So ECOWAS has opened an office in Liberia and the special representative is in the field working hand-in-glove with the UN and members of the International Contact Group present in Liberia, namely the US, Nigeria, Ghana and EU. The committee is important to follow through on the implementation of all aspects of the agreement, especially the political aspect, so it does not become a bottleneck to the peace process. We have to hold the Liberian parties to their obliga-

United Nations / DPI

*UN peacekeepers collecting arms from ex-combatants in Liberia: regional coordination is vital to prevent arms and fighters from crossing into neighbouring countries.*

tions and their responsibilities and make sure they cooperate fully, so that this time around durable peace will come.

***What are the challenges of trying to deal with issues of peace and security on a regional level?***

**Chambas:** This is a major challenge. The interlocking nature of the various crises — the rebel movements, the proliferation of small arms and light weapons across weak frontiers — these have been contributory factors to the crises spilling over from one country to the other. It started in Liberia, which was more or less the epicentre of the instability. From there it spilled over to Sierra Leone. And then we saw how quickly the same elements — the armed groups, the mercenaries — were able to join the fray in Côte d'Ivoire.

So we are advocating strongly that a regional approach be adopted to resolving these crises. They cannot be dealt with in isolation from each other. We have to see the interlinkages. We have to strengthen the border patrols, so that there are sufficient troops placed at the borders to prevent easy movement of these armed groups from one country to the other. We have to intensify efforts to control the proliferation, spread and smuggling of small arms and light weapons.

The biggest opportunity to end these conflicts will come if the Security Council authorizes a mission in Côte d'Ivoire [see box] at the same time there is a mission in Liberia and Sierra Leone. We can then engage in effective disarmament in all three countries. We also have to more or less synchronize the withdrawal of our forces, so that we don't withdraw prematurely from a country and give an opportunity to armed groups to move in. If we were to totally withdraw all the forces and close down UNAMSIL in Sierra Leone, while the operations are still going on in Côte d'Ivoire and Liberia, the hard core elements are likely to regroup and find their way to Sierra Leone. That could threaten all the progress we have achieved in Sierra Leone.

***There have often been accusations that some governments in the region have been providing support, transit routes or refuge for rebel groups in neighbouring countries. Does ECOWAS have some means of getting its own members to behave?***

**Chambas:** I think even as we have tried to handle the situation in these countries, one of the things we have insisted on is the ECOWAS protocol on non-aggression. In the past, the enforcement of this protocol has not been effective, and we are the first to admit that. Groups have crossed from one country to another to foment trouble, without the consent of the governments of neighbouring countries — but also often with the tacit support of some governments. Obviously, this situation is unacceptable. It is not in the interest of peace and stability in the subregion. We now have many member states calling for a review of this protocol, in order to strengthen it.

***In the past, the international community often dealt with such crises on a country-by-country basis. Do you see movement on the part of the donors in looking at these problems in more of a regional framework?***

turn to page 25

## New UN mission in Côte d'Ivoire

Following the outbreak of civil war in Côte d'Ivoire in September 2002, the main parties in the conflict signed a wide-ranging peace agreement early the following year. Although the government army and opposition military forces remain in control of separate parts of the country, a government of national reconciliation was established with ministers from both sides. France sent 4,000 troops and ECOWAS dispatched a force of 1,300 to monitor the agreement, alongside a small UN liaison mission, known as the UN Mission in Côte d'Ivoire (MINUCI). On 4 February 2004, the UN Security Council agreed to transform MINUCI into a regular UN peacekeeping mission as of 4 April, to be called the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI).

UNOCI will have an authorized military and police strength of 6,240. Its mandate includes monitoring the ceasefire, assisting the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of combatants, helping investigate human rights abuses and supporting the peace process so that new presidential elections can be held in 2005. According to the Security Council resolution, UNOCI is to work closely with the UN missions in Liberia and Sierra Leone, "especially in the prevention of movements of arms and combatants across shared borders and the implementation of disarmament and mobilization programmes."

All photos: United Nations / Even Schneider

# Images of peacekeeping in Western Sahara

## *UN mission promotes political settlement*

One of Africa's oldest conflicts is in the Western Sahara, a territory in northwest Africa claimed by both the Moroccan government and pro-independence rebel forces. Serious fighting first erupted more than a quarter-century ago, when Spain, which formally ruled the territory, decided to pull out in 1976. Morocco — and at that time, Mauritania — sought to divide the area between them, but were resisted by the Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro, known as the Polisario Front. In 1979 Mauritania gave up its claim, with Morocco then extending its demand for sovereignty over the entire territory.

In the mid-1980s, the United Nations, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, initiated a mediation effort. This yielded settlement proposals that were accepted by both Morocco and the Polisario Front in 1988. A major element was agreement on a referendum to let the residents of Western Sahara decide whether they wished to be independent or belong to Morocco.

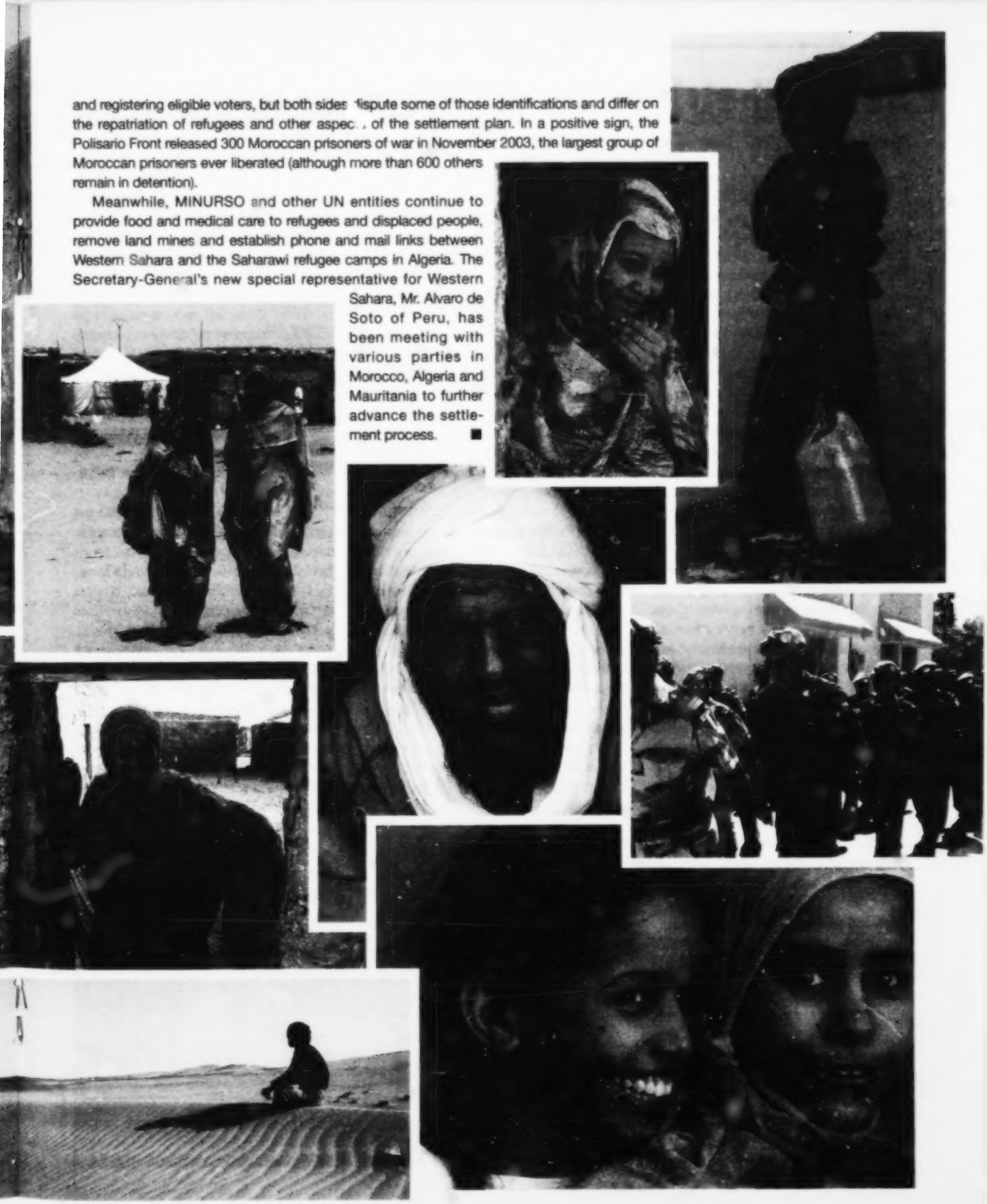
Three years later, in 1991, the UN Security Council created the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO). Its tasks include monitoring the ceasefire, facilitating the exchange of prisoners of war, aiding the repatriation of refugees, identifying and registering qualified voters and eventually organizing and ensuring a free and fair referendum. As of January 2004, there were 228 military observers and troops from 31 countries participating in MINURSO.

After some early difficulties, the ceasefire has been holding in recent years. Secretary-General Kofi Annan reported in January that "there have been no indications on the ground that either side intends to resume hostilities in the near future."

Differences between the two parties remain, however, especially over who will be eligible to vote in the referendum. MINURSO's Identification Commission has completed its work in identifying

and registering eligible voters, but both sides dispute some of those identifications and differ on the repatriation of refugees and other aspects of the settlement plan. In a positive sign, the Polisario Front released 300 Moroccan prisoners of war in November 2003, the largest group of Moroccan prisoners ever liberated (although more than 600 others remain in detention).

Meanwhile, MINURSO and other UN entities continue to provide food and medical care to refugees and displaced people, remove land mines and establish phone and mail links between Western Sahara and the Saharawi refugee camps in Algeria. The Secretary-General's new special representative for Western Sahara, Mr. Alvaro de Soto of Peru, has been meeting with various parties in Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania to further advance the settlement process. ■



# Senegal strives for Millennium goals

*Reducing poverty requires will, money and community action*

*By* **Wilma Jean Emanuel Randle**
*Dakar*

On Senegal's tiny island of Gorée, residents are trying to make several of the objectives in the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) a reality. A UN-led initiative adopted by the international community in 2000, the MDGs comprise eight specific development targets to be achieved globally by the year 2015, including halving the number of people living in poverty.

Located about 20 minutes by boat off the coast of mainland Senegal, Gorée has a population of around 1,500. It was one of the busiest ports during the trans-Atlantic slave trade and is one of Senegal's main tourist attractions. Despite this distinction, Gorée is basically a poor island with few services.

Two years ago community residents held a public discussion to develop their vision for the island. Among other things, they projected enrolling in pre-school all children between ages 3 and 5 by 2005 and ensuring that everyone working has "an authorized job," that is, steady employment. They have been making some progress. Thanks to increased parental involvement and some financial donations to help defray school fees, nearly all the island's 200 or so children in the age range are now enrolled. Efforts are under way to create new businesses and help existing ventures, such as restaurants and artistic services that cater to the tourist trade.

All these undertakings reflect the objectives and spirit of the MDGs. But if one asked local residents, they would say they know nothing about the MDGs. They are just trying to make a living and improve conditions for their families. Similarly across Senegal, ordinary people are striving daily, in some way, to achieve one or more of the MDGs. Only they call it survival.

*Over the past decade, Senegal has increased the proportion of children enrolled in primary school.*

Among several other countries in the world, Senegal has been selected by the UN for participation in a coordinated inter-agency pilot project that will seek to help the government develop further poverty reduction strategies and programmes. These efforts will focus on the southeastern Tambacounda region, a large, impoverished area with a total population of around 545,000. Mr. Taib Diallo, the UN Development Programme's representative on Senegal's official MDG Steering Committee, hopes that lessons gleaned from the inter-agency project in Tambacounda will help develop models that can be used in other areas.

Senegal is often considered to have conditions favourable to achievement of the development goals: a history of stable, democratic rule and a government that has long backed various international development and human rights conventions, as well as regional and pan-African initiatives, such as the New Partnership for Africa's Development. And there is high-level commitment to the MDG campaign.

**Goals achievable**

"We think Senegal is one of the countries where these goals can be achieved," Prof. Jeffrey Sachs, director of the Millennium Development Project and a special adviser on the MDGs to UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan, told *Africa Recovery* during [illegible] to Senegal.

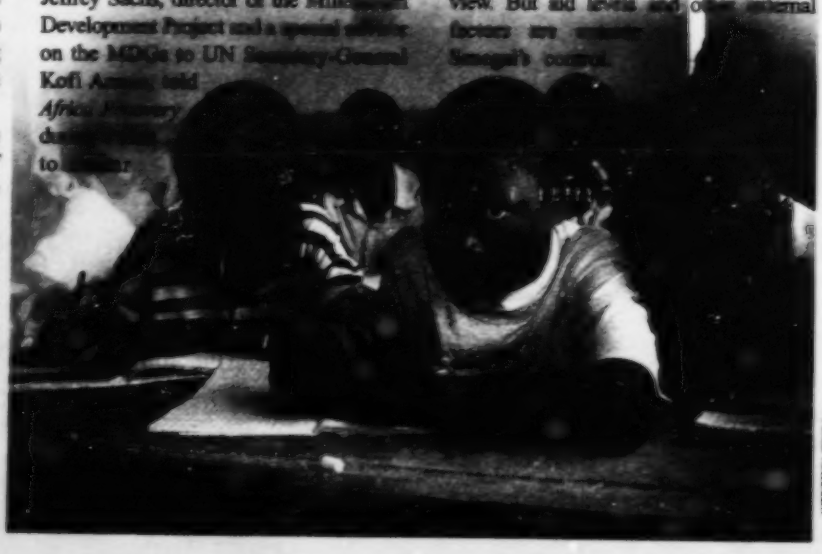
in February. But currently, he added, Senegal is not yet on course towards meeting the targets.

"What I think is needed here," Mr. Sachs argued, "is a scaling up of poverty reduction activities. What that requires is more financial and organizational resources and more political involvement."

Ultimately, he said, success hinges on the eighth MDG, "developing a global partnership for development." In particular, he said, more money is required. "The business-as-usual scenario is not sufficient and may do nothing to reduce poverty. Without a breakthrough of more investment, nothing will change."

Just how much is required is still not certain. The MDG Steering Committee estimates the amount at more than $4 bn from 2003 to 2015. Without citing a specific figure, Mr. Sachs emphasized, "Unless the donors give more money, we are not going to meet the MDGs."

Ms. Voré Gana Seck, executive director of Green Senegal, an environmental non-governmental organization (NGO) based in the town of Thiès, notes that there is much Senegal itself can do. "I am hopeful we can reach some of the goals, like for water and education," she said in an interview. But aid levels and other external factors are [illegible] Senegal's control.



AfricaPhotos.com

"It all depends on the world partnership. If the rich countries are not involved, if there is no real partnership — not just aid — then things won't change."

### A major challenge

In Senegal, there is a great need for substantial progress towards the MDG goals. A majority of Senegal's estimated 10 million people, especially those in rural areas, live at or near poverty levels. The UN Development Programme's 2003 *Human Development Report* ranks the country at 156th out of 175 nations in the world in terms of its population's overall well being.

> **"We need to make the MDGs known among the civil society organizations, government administrators, the national assembly, so that everyone begins to understand the MDGs and their implications."**
>
> **Aboubacry Demba Lom, Planning Minister**

With scarce mineral wealth, about 60 per cent or more of Senegal's economy is based on agricultural activities and fishing. Annual per capita income is estimated at $476, but in reality, few people earn that.

According to estimates released in January by the Ministry of Economy and Finance, the number of people living below the poverty line declined from 67.9 per cent in 1994-95 to 57.1 per cent in 2001-02, based on data in household assessment surveys. But even with a 10 per cent fall, poverty remains high. It is highest in rural areas and slightly higher in towns other than Dakar.

Senegal's economy is struggling, the result of a number of problems that began in the 1970s. Extensive drought triggered a massive exodus by much of the able-bodied rural labour force from the rural areas to urban centres — as well as large-scale emigration abroad.

Meanwhile, the government cut subsidies for seeds, fertilizer and other agricultural inputs, making it harder for farmers to produce. A decline in the global market value of groundnuts, Senegal's main export crop, hit rural people especially hard. Such difficulties worsened rural-to-urban migration, and many villages are now populated mostly by young women, children and old people.

These problems were compounded by the negative impact of structural adjustment policies first introduced in the late 1970s, which contributed to high unemployment and drastic cuts in funding for social services. On top of that, the country's currency, the CFA franc, was sharply devalued in 1994, leading to a steep rise in consumer prices.

"The quality of service and the distribution of services remains an issue, especially in the rural areas," notes Planning Minister Aboubacry Demba Lom, who is presidential adviser on the MDGs and chairs the government's MDG Steering Committee. "It's important that all services like water, health, electricity and telephone be available across the country. This will help limit migration. This is a big challenge for the government."

More also must be done against environmental degradation, Mr. Lom told *Africa Recovery*. He stressed the need for a programme to raise awareness of excessive fishing, which has begun to deplete certain fish stocks. "Over-fishing is a problem," he said, "but most people who are just fishing to eat don't necessarily make this connection. What they know is that they now have to go out further in the water to get fish."

In the cities, unemployment is widespread, especially among the young. In the capital, Dakar, there are more and more beggars on the streets, among them increasing numbers of children, women with children and the physically disabled. The informal sector is burgeoning, by some unofficial estimates accounting for as much as 70 per cent of the country's gross domestic product.

During a meeting between Prof. Sachs and about 100 people from NGOs, local government bodies, the private sector, media and academic institutions, participants highlighted the importance of retaining and creating jobs as a way of combatting poverty. As one participant observed, "Every working person in Senegal is supporting 10 to 20 people."

### Giving a push

Most of the specific objectives in the Millennium campaign are not new, observes Mr. Lom. "The MDGs are things that in principle Senegal is already committed to addressing. They are goals that have been previously identified in other UN declarations, international accords and so on. What is different is that they provide a timeframe for when these goals should be achieved."

The objectives, he believes, "push governments to engage more forcefully in addressing these issues. They also clearly state that it's necessary for developed countries to help developing countries if these goals are to be achieved."

The MDGs, says Mr. Ian Hopwood, UNICEF's Resident Representative in Senegal, "are relatively clear, easily communicated. They help focus attention on the issues and call for more effective and collective action around these issues."

From Senegal's perspective, says Mr. Lom, "the MDGs plan has arrived at a time when the government is fully conscious and completely engaged in addressing these socio-economic issues." This is reflected in Senegalese President Abdoulaye Wade's public support for the initiative, and his decision both to name Mr. Lom a special presidential adviser on MDGs and appoint a national steering committee — comprised of ministry officials and representatives of national and international NGOs and the private sector — to monitor the effort.

**Senegal: Key social indicators**

| | |
|---|---|
| Undernourished people, % total | 25 |
| Under-5 mortality, per 1,000 births | 138 |
| Adult HIV prevalence, % | 1.4 |
| Women as % parliamentary deputies | 19.2 |

*Source: Senegal Ministry of Economy and Finance; UNDP, Human Development Indicators 2003; UNAIDS; UNICEF.*

In May 2003 the steering committee organized a five-day, national consultative meeting in the Senegalese coastal town of Mbour. The approximately 120 participants assessed Senegal's progress towards the development objectives and highlighted the challenges impeding their achievement. Among other recommendations, the meeting called for a review of the government's policy of decentralization, originally adopted in the 1980s, which was accompanied by the national government's reduced provision of basic social services.

According to Mr. Lom, Senegal today "has a programme in just about every area targeted in the MDGs." The country already has produced two reports on the MDGs in Senegal, the first issued in 2001 by UNDP in consultation with the government and the second released in February by the MDG Steering Committee. The second incorporated input from all the ministries, and by communicating directly with each other, the various ministries learned "for the first time" what the others were doing.

However, more needs to be done to raise awareness of the Millennium goals, Mr. Lom adds. "We need to make the MDGs known among the civil society organizations, government administrators, the national assembly, so that everyone begins to understand the MDGs and their implications."

In some areas, such as primary school enrolment, earlier efforts have already achieved some results. According to Mr. Wally Badiane, an assistant programme officer at the UN Children's Fund (UNICEF), nearly 66 per cent of primary school age children are now enrolled. In 1990, the rate was under 60 per cent. "There's been a great mobilization and awareness effort that has paid off," notes Mr. Badiane, who also is a member of the MDG Steering Committee.

### Civil society role

One factor that favours Senegal's MDG effort is the existence of an active and organized civil society, says Ms. Seck of Green Senegal. "Many times civil society organizations in some countries are looked upon as trouble makers. But here in Senegal that is not true. Here we play a role of watchdog, but we're also involved with government and are viewed as working in partnership with the government to achieve common goals."

Ms. Seck thinks that the MDG campaign is "a worthwhile effort. It's necessary to begin with a vision." The goals can be achieved, she believes, although the deadline of 2015 "is just a bit too rigid."

And, said Mrs. Seck and others, more still needs to be done to better involve civil society groups in the Millennium effort. In Prof. Sachs' meeting with NGOs, participants noted that there were no farmers groups present and urged more direct representation from agricultural associations in future meetings on the MDGs.

UNDP / Françoise Gerber

*MDG campaign seeks to reduce both child and maternal mortality rates.*

### Raising women's awareness

Women also are a key constituency. On 8 March 2003, International Women's Day, Ms. Seck's group organized a day-long conference around the theme "Millennium Development Goals and Women" in order to raise awareness. The workshops were conducted in Wolof, the main indigenous language spoken in the country.

"Prior to this workshop," Ms. Seck reported, "most of the participants had no idea about MDGs. We wanted to sensitize women to this topic and also discuss how it's tied to issues they are already familiar with and working on, such as HIV/AIDS and reducing poverty."

According to Ms. Abibatou Ndiaye, national president of the Federation of Senegalese Women's Associations, which represents some 400 women's groups, there should be someone on the MDG Steering Committee "who is directly addressing women's issues."

Her group and others have already had some success in raising awareness about the importance of increasing school enrolment, especially for girls. The gap between girls and boys at the primary school level has been narrowed, Ms. Ndiaye told *Africa Recovery*, "but as you go higher in the system, the number of girls gets fewer, especially in the rural zones." Therefore, she urges programmes to address the quality of education, reduce drop-out rates, deal with social and traditional practices and attitudes that make it hard for female students to stay in school, inadequate infrastructure (large class sizes, not enough toilets for girls), counseling and "teacher training that is gender-sensitive."

School costs also need to be addressed, Ms. Ndiaye says. The public school enrolment fee is CFA 5,000 per year (about $10), a major sum for a family that typically has several children — and which does not include the cost of school supplies. "If they are serious," she says, "then it's necessary to provide the means for this MDG effort to succeed. The money must go to the grassroots community, and not just be used for seminars, cars and salaries." ■

# Pan-African Parliament now a reality

*'A sign of democratic maturity'*

By **Gumisai Mutume**

Africa moved a step closer towards continental unity with the establishment of the Pan-African Parliament in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in March. The body, created as an organ of the African Union (AU), is open to all 53 countries in the organization.

On 18 March, Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano, the current AU chairman, swore in 202 legislators from 41 countries. The first act of the new deputies was to elect Ms. Gertrude Mongella of Tanzania as president of the parliament. They also elected four vice presidents: Mr. Fernando Dias Van-Dúnen of Angola, Dr. Mohammed Lutfi Farahat of Libya, Ms. Elise Loum of Chad and Mr. Jerome Sacca Kina Guezere of Benin. Cape Town, South Africa, and Cairo, Egypt, have each offered to permanently host the parliament and heads of state are expected to make a decision at the next AU summit in July.

"There is great hope and expectation pinned on the establishment of the Pan-African Parliament," President Chissano told its inaugural session. "The whole world shall be watching to see what added value this organ is going to contribute to our plan of building a strong and prosperous African Union."

The Union was established in 2002, continuing the efforts of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) to unify the continent politically, economically and socially. According to the protocol establishing the parliament, it will provide "a common platform for African peoples and their grassroots organizations to be more involved in discussions and decision-making on the problems and challenges facing the continent." During its first five years, the parliament will be an advisory body, but the ultimate goal is to accord it full legislative powers, with members directly elected. Each country signing and ratifying the protocol gets five parliamentary deputies, one of which must be a woman.

Members of the Pan-African Parliament are selected from the national legislatures or other deliberative organs of member states, reflecting the diversity of political opinions in these organs. The tenure of each deputy at the parliament will run concurrently with his or her term in the national house. The Pan-African Parliament is expected to meet for at least two sessions a year.

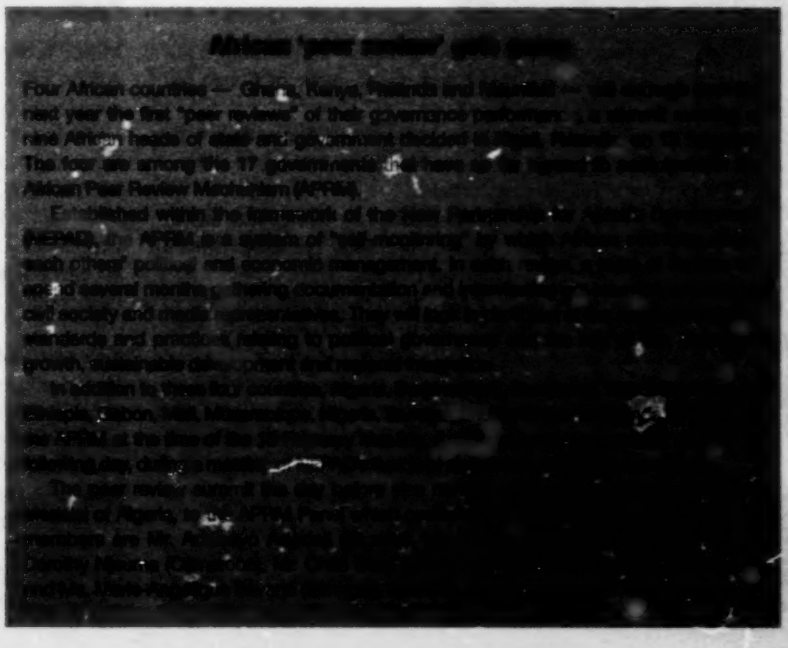
UN / E. Schneider

*Ms. Gertrude Mongella: An internationally known Tanzanian gender activist was elected to preside over the new parliament.*

The parliament's inauguration "is a sign of democratic maturity in Africa," Ms. Mongella told the session. According to former Malian President Alpha Oumar Konaré, the chairperson of the Commission of the AU, the parliament has a "vital role to play" in protecting human rights, consolidating democratic institutions and popularizing and promoting good governance.

Across Africa, the inauguration was greeted with guarded optimism. The parliament "offers hope for a new era of transparency and accountability in African politics," commented South Africa's *Business Day* newspaper. "For the first time, opposition parties will be given official space in continental politics," with opportunities to create alliances to exert pressure on autocratic governments. (Deputies enjoy parliamentary immunity and are not liable to prosecution for what they say when carrying out their duties.)

In Nairobi, Kenya, Mr. Irungu Houghton of the non-governmental organization Oxfam described the parliament's establishment as "significant." The next challenge is to enable it to pass laws, monitor compliance of African states to agreed standards and "intervene decisively to protect human rights in member states." The credibility of the parliamentarians, he says, will rest "on the issues they espouse, the causes they champion and the changes they bring to the lives of ordinary people across Africa." ■



# Africa and Asia forge stronger alliances

*Expanding cooperation in trade, investment and technical assistance*

*from page 1*

a brother country." He noted that such ventures fit the priorities of the continent's New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), which stresses collaboration between African and non-African countries. "Forward with the African private sector!" President Wade declared at the close of his speech. "Long live Senegalese-Indian cooperation!"

Senbus is but one example of Senegal's interaction with India. This year, Senegal's largest industrial enterprise, a chemicals manufacturer, is expected to export $155 mn worth of phosphoric acid to that country. Meanwhile, the Indian government is training Senegalese technicians and professionals and is supporting projects in rice, cotton, solar energy and new information technologies. It is exploring the feasibility of building a railway between Senegal's north and south.

The growing ties between Senegal and India reflect a wider trend. Across Africa, more countries are forging new relations with their counterparts in developing Asia. The examples are numerous:

- Kampala, the capital of Uganda, hosts a Malaysian Business Centre, set up at the initiative of Malaysian businesses to explore mutual trade and investment opportunities.
- China has 11 such centres throughout Africa, and over the past three years has given scholarships to more than 7,000 African students.
- Some 2,000 Vietnamese agricultural and food security specialists are providing training in Benin, Madagascar, the Republic of Congo and Senegal.
- In 2001, South Africa recorded $5.7 bn in trade with developing Asia, 12 per cent of its world total (19 per cent if Japan were included).
- That same year, Guinea-Bissau earned more than half of all its export revenues from Asia, primarily through cashew sales to India and Thailand.

AFP / Getty Images / Dasley Mirkich

*"Gabon-China friendship": Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Africa in February.*

Asian countries also have been prominent in efforts to resolve Africa's armed conflicts. With developed countries reluctant to assign troops to UN peacekeeping missions, Asian armies have stepped in to help fill much of the gap. At the very beginning of 2004, there were 15,375 Asian troops, military observers and police posted to the UN's six active peacekeeping missions in Africa, accounting for 43 per cent of the total. In Sierra Leone, Asian peacekeepers comprise more than half.

Compared with just a decade ago, Asia now looms larger in Africa's field of vision. "For historical reasons, we used to pay attention only to Western countries," notes Mr. Kheri Iddi Milao, acting chief of the Zanzibar Bureau of Foreign Affairs, in Tanzania. "Now this has changed. We are shifting our eyes to Asia."

And Asia is looking in Africa's direction. Africa is "an increasingly close neighbour in today's shrinking world," said Mr. Tan Sri Bernard Giluk Dompok, minister in the office of Malaysia's prime minister, at the Third Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD). Building stronger bridges between the two regions was one of the main themes of the 29 September-1 October 2003 conference.

### The spirit of Bandung

Historically, ties between Africa and Asia are not new. For centuries, there was considerable migration and commerce among societies on opposite sides of the Indian Ocean. Trade and other economic relations between Africa and Asia "existed long before colonialism," noted Namibian Minister of Trade and Industry Jesaya Nyamu during a visit to Vietnam in May 2003. "It was the colonial subjugation of the 19th-century which came to destroy this harmonious relationship."

In reaction to colonialism, political issues came to the fore, as anti-colonial activists from the two continents began establishing contacts with each other in the early decades of the 20th century. In the immediate wake of World War II, a number of Asian countries gained their political independence. In solidarity, they championed the cause of freedom in Africa, most of which was then still under colonial rule. In that spirit, the first Asian-African conference was held in Bandung, Indonesia, in 1955.

In preparation for the 50th anniversary of that event, the foreign ministers of Indonesia and South Africa, joined by delegates from 41 other countries, reconvened in Bandung just two months before the TICAD meeting. The participants noted that while much progress has been made in the two regions over the years, especially in the political sphere, they still share daunting problems of economic and social development. "Despite the opportunities offered by globalization," the final communiqué concluded, "countries in Asia and Africa continue to be marginalized."

### Economic models in a globalizing world

The relative success of some Asian countries in navigating the complexities of globalization, especially by the newly industrializing East Asian "tigers," has fascinated African leaders for some time. During the policy debates of the 1980s and 1990s over structural adjustment reforms in Africa, African ministers often pointed to the significant role of government economic involvement in East Asia. This was in contrast to the "Washington consensus" put forth by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund and other donor institutions, which pressed for sweeping liberalization and state curtailment.

By the mid-1990s, some of the donor institutions were beginning to acknowledge that strong public sector policies had indeed played a role in the "miracle" of East Asia's economic growth. They also started to concede the limits of market liberalization and the importance of building up state capacities in Africa.

At the TICAD conference, a number of African participants pointed to the attraction of the Asian development model as one of the factors drawing them towards closer ties with that continent. Asia's ability to forge strong public-private partnerships, noted Kenyan Minister of Planning and National Development Peter Anyang' Nyong'o, is "an experience which has helped Asian countries make tremendous strides in development."

"Given that our two continents, Africa and Asia, are faced with globalization in an era when pressures for liberalization are pretty strong," Mr. Nyong'o added, "we in Africa have a lot to learn from the Asian experience."

Ethiopian Prime Minister Meles Zenawi observed that when the first TICAD conference was held in 1993, Africa was implementing economic and political reforms under the guidance of the Washington consensus. However, the TICAD process has since "introduced an alternative development paradigm based on the successful development experience of many East Asian countries and thus helped expand the tool kits at the disposal of African development practitioners."

Minister Dompok of Malaysia, in an interview with *Africa Recovery*, said that his country is seeking to share such knowledge at a practical level. Technical training courses for African practitioners draw on Malaysia's long experience with development planning, in particular how government can work closely with the private sector, while at the same time maintaining a focus on "the social needs of the people."

### Aid 'without conditions'

After Chinese President Hu Jintao visited Gabon in early February, Gabonese President Omar Bongo highlighted another reason why African countries value assistance from Asia. "It seems to me that the aid provided by certain countries is tied aid," he observed, commenting on the common practice by which many Northern donor agencies make their assistance conditional on the purchase of goods from the contributing country or on the implementation of specific policy reforms. In contrast, added Mr. Bongo, "cooperation with China comes without conditions, with mutual respect and regard for diversity."

With the exception of Japan (see box, page 22), however, most Asian countries are secondary players in providing aid to Africa, since they face serious financial constraints of their own. To the extent they are able to give foreign assistance, the bulk tends to go to other Asian countries with which they have more strategic political and economic relations.

Despite these limitations, the vibrancy of some Asian economies appears to have led to an increase in their aid. The Republic of Korea, for example, more than doubled its overall foreign aid between 1995 and 2002, from $116 mn to $279 mn. Out of the latter amount, a modest $5 mn went to sub-Saharan Africa, although the year before it was $9 mn and Angola figured among Korea's top 10 aid recipients.

China is known to give significant aid to some African countries, but it does not release data on the overall value of its assis-

United Nations / Sven Schneider

*A Malaysian soldier in Africa: 43 per cent of all UN peacekeeping troops in Africa are Asian.*

tance. In addition, China has canceled some $1.3 bn in debt owed to it by 31 African countries.

In 2003, India established a new India-Africa Fund. Its goal is to allocate up to $200 mn in credits to various projects designed to promote African economic integration, within the framework of NEPAD.

**Practical advice**

Generally, Asian countries concentrate on providing Africans with knowledge and access to technologies. This may include scholarships and specialized training courses for Africans to study in Asia. Often, it also entails sending Asian experts to help train farmers, fishermen, small business people and other producers in new techniques for improving their output and efficiency.

India has long been a leader in this field. In 1964 it established the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) programme, which has trained more than 10,000 Africans in Indian institutions in fields such as small-industry development, agriculture, new information technologies, financial management, diplomacy and employment planning. In recent years, ITEC has been training more than 1,000 people annually, with a majority of them generally coming from Africa. The programme has also supported projects in Africa itself, such as an entrepreneurship development centre in Senegal and a plastics technology demonstration centre in Namibia.

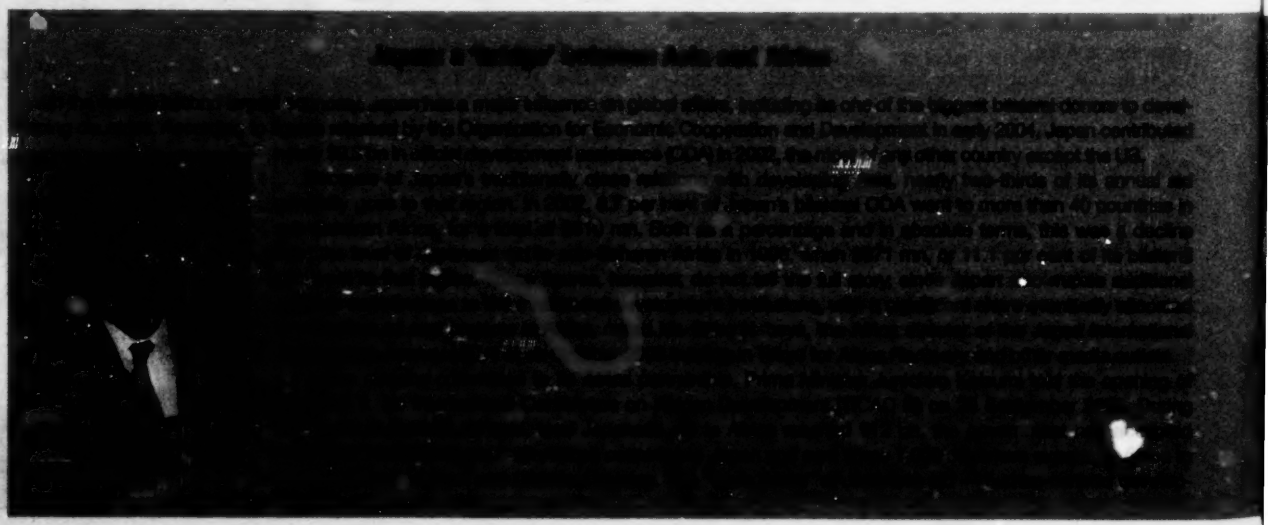
After South Africa, India has the second largest number of people living with HIV/AIDS in the world. And because it already had a developed pharmaceutical industry, India has become a global leader in the manufacture of inexpensive generic medicines to combat the disease. Indian companies are now working with South African pharmaceutical firms to supply cheap anti-retroviral medicines.

China, the world's largest developing country, has long had multiple ties with Africa. This has included providing a total of 65,000 Chinese contract labourers to various African countries over the years, as in the construction of the Tanzania-Zambia railway in the 1970s. Chinese workers are still being sent to Africa, but China is now placing greater emphasis on brain power. Visiting Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, in mid-December 2003 for a China-Africa Cooperation Forum, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao announced that his government plans to increase the number of Africans it trains in various professions from 7,000 over the past three years to 10,000 over the next three.

In addition, Chinese agencies and state firms support projects on the ground in dozens of African countries. In Tanzania, for example, the China State Farm and Agribusiness Corporation has rehabilitated two sisal farms. "The soil is fertile, but its cultivation called for modern technology and management methods," says Mr. Han Xiangshan, head of the firm's African agricultural projects. "We have wide experience in sisal planting and processing . . . and brought our best technicians out here." These sisal farms are now regarded as the best-managed in Tanzania, and have helped boost the incomes of hundreds of local residents.

Malaysia first set up its Malaysia Technical Cooperation Programme in 1981. It now offers more than 90 courses annually in Malaysian institutions. From its inception until mid-2003, about 2,000 participants from 46 African countries have taken part. According to Mr. Dompok, these courses focus on transferring technical knowledge and improving management and planning skills. His country has sent experts to the predominantly rural Northern Province of South Africa to help strengthen local micro-credit schemes, an example, he said, of "how experience can be translated into solving some of the problems." Malaysia can, in turn, learn from the experiences of Africa, he added.

Vietnam has a "triangular" assistance arrangement under



which it provides some 2,000 agricultural specialists to several African countries, with the costs borne by the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization. In addition, Vietnam provides hundreds of other technical experts, educational advisers and doctors to a score of African countries, with Algeria and Angola heading the list.

With the aim of improving cooperation with Africa, the government organized a Vietnam-Africa cooperation and development forum in Hanoi in May 2003. At the forum, Deputy Minister of Agriculture Bui Ba Bong noted that the Vietnamese advisers who go to Africa not only bring practical experience that is well-suited to Africa's development problems, but also a good rapport with rural people and an "endurance for the difficulties in living and working conditions."

**Investment opportunities**

Africa is benefitting from a growing Asian interest in the continent's investment opportunities. Because of the high profit rates that foreign investors can earn in Africa — combined with improvements in Africa's investment codes, privatization of state enterprises and liberalization of economic management — Asian investments began to mount in the early 1990s.

Firms from the Republic of Korea, for example, invested $214 mn in various African ventures between 1992 and 1995, and Malaysian firms increased their investments in Africa from $3.2 mn in 1992 to $30.3 mn in 1996. The Asian financial crisis of 1997-98 led to a momentary pause in certain Asian investment flows to Africa, but as a number of key Asian economies quickly recovered, so did investment activity.

Malaysia's giant Petronas oil company now has oil production or exploration ventures in a dozen African countries. This includes a 35 per cent stake in the consortium that last year began pumping oil from the Doba oil field in southern Chad, after building a 1,000-kilometre pipeline through Cameroon. According to Mr. Dompok, Petronas also currently operates some 1,600 petrol stations in South Africa and Botswana.

AFP / Getty Images / Reuters/hrn

*South African Foreign Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma with her Indian counterpart, Yashwant Sinha: The two countries are working together to expand access to AIDS drugs.*

Among other projects, Malaysian companies are involved in the telecommunications sectors in Ghana, Guinea, Malawi and South Africa, palm oil production in Gabon, banking in Mozambique and tourism in Seychelles. In 2001, a Malaysian company started investing in a large textiles and clothing complex in a suburb of Namibia's capital, Windhoek, and began exporting textiles to the US market the following year. As the project expands — with total investments eventually reaching $185 mn — it may ultimately create several thousand local jobs.

A large delegation of Chinese businesspeople took part in the December 2003 China-Africa cooperation forum in Addis Ababa and during the event, 17 Chinese companies signed agreements with African counterparts worth a total of $460 mn. Up to that point, more than 600 Chinese businesses already had industrial, agricultural and trade operations in 49 African countries.

Asia's other large developing economy, India, also has extensive investments in Africa. As of 2002, Indian enterprises had a total of $330 mn invested in 43 projects in Egypt alone. Indian companies are active in chemicals ventures in Morocco and Tanzania, copper mining in Zambia, oil in Mauritius and Madagascar and telecommunications and textiles in Malawi. In Uganda, India is now the third largest source of foreign direct investment (after the UK and Kenya).

In 2003, India's state-owned Oil and Natural Gas Corporation made further investments in Sudanese oil exploration and production and won contracts to build a 720-kilometre oil pipeline and upgrade an oil refinery. The company's total investments in Sudan that year reached $1.6 bn — an enormous sum for any African country, considering that all foreign investments to the entire continent reached only $11 bn the year before.

### Looking to Asian markets

To African exporters, Asia is an enormous market that they have only begun to tap. Asian businesses, in turn, are beginning to more systematically explore how they can sell their goods in Africa, especially in countries where economic growth has been strong. Trade relations between the two continents are therefore driven by a dynamic of mutual interest.

Between 1995 and 2001, total trade between Africa and developing countries in Asia grew by nearly 50 per cent, from $20.9 bn to $30.1 bn. Both imports from Asia and exports to that continent grew over the period. The Asian financial crisis caused a dip in African exports there in 1998, since overall demand virtually dried up in a number of key Asian economies. But growth in African exports resumed the following year. Much of this was to the two largest Asian markets, India and especially China (see graphs, below). During the first nine months of 2003, total trade between China and Africa reached $13.4 bn, higher than the record $12.4 bn recorded for the whole of 2002.

UNDP / L Rajeswary

*Indian technicians explain manufacturing process to African participants in an Ethiopian workshop.*

Some of Asia's smaller economies have also seen a significant increase in their trade with Africa. Malaysia's trade with the continent tripled from $423 mn in 1993 to $1.4 bn in 2002. Vietnam's grew tenfold between 1991 and 2002, from just $15 mn to around $200 mn. The Republic of Korea's trade with Africa has remained fairly steady, but at a high level, averaging more than $5.6 bn annually between 1995 and 2001.

As a source of imports for Africa, Asia countries often are able to provide industrial equipment, fertilizer and consumer goods at prices far lower that those from Africa's traditional commercial partners in the North. For example, India, which is among Tanzania's top five sources of imports, mainly sells pharmaceuticals, transport machinery, consumer goods, construction materials, textiles and iron and steel. In the "Vietnam Town" section of Luanda, Angolans can readily buy motorcycles, steel products, electronics, garments, construction materials and other Vietnamese goods.

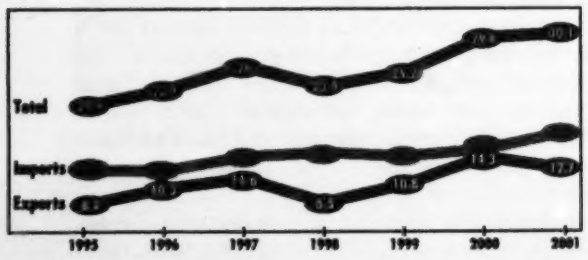
The competitiveness of Asian merchandise is a mixed blessing for Africa, however. When cheap Asian textiles or rice flood African markets, local producers often are hurt by reduced sales of their own goods. They argue that trade liberalization has exposed them to unfair foreign competition and urge their governments to impose higher duties on such imports to help protect African producers.

African exporters also complain that some Asian countries subsidize their agricultural production — giving them a competitive edge in world markets that Africans generally do not enjoy. As well, they criticize the persistence of tariffs and other trade barriers that hamper the sale of African commodities in Asian markets. At the TICAD conference in Tokyo, Mr. Nyong'o, the Kenyan planning minister, pointedly noted that "for Africa to realize meaningful and sustainable economic growth, there is need for increased market access for African products into Japan and other Asian countries."

Such comments have elicited a positive response from some Asian officials. At the China-Africa forum in Ethiopia, Chinese Premier Wen Jiabao pledged: "We will further open our market, and grant duty-free market access for some of the commodities from the least developed countries in Africa." Mr. Dompok, the minister from Malaysia, commented to *Africa Recovery* that Africans are simply asking that markets be opened up to them. "That's the most meaningful way of helping Africans," he said, "to find a place for their products." ■

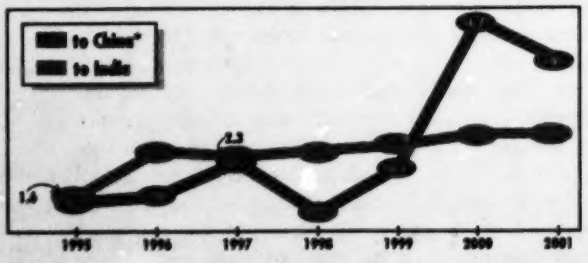
**African trade with developing countries in Asia**

**US$ bn**




**Africa's biggest growing Asian markets**

**Exports, US$ bn**




* Mainland China

Source: *UN Africa Recovery from IMF, Direction of Trade Statistics, 2002.*

# Women break into African politics

*from page 5*

institutions. They may also be restrained by "national constitutions that hamper parliamentary power in relation to the executive powers of government and by political parties that exert strong discipline over their members," notes UNIFEM.

Some gender activists also argue that quotas may constitute a "glass ceiling" beyond which women cannot go unless they engage in additional struggle. Others contend that women who come into power under such a system may be undervalued or viewed as not politically deserving. Quotas "can only be a transitory solution … not a cure for the makings of a true democracy," says Mrs. Mata Sy Diallo, former vice-president of the Senegalese National Assembly.

The IDEA institute in Stockholm argues women politicians around the world are at a disadvantage in terms of financial resources, since women are a majority of the world's poor and in many patriarchal societies cannot own property and do not have money of their own. Despite such hindrances, a recent IDEA study recommends that women around the world learn the rules of politics, create conditions that allow more women to participate and then eventually change the rules to suit the needs of the majority of women.

According to Ms. Birgitta Dahl, a Swedish parliamentarian, "Political parties, the educational system, non-governmental organizations, trade unions, churches — all must take responsibility within their own organization to systematically promote women's participation, from the bottom up."

South Africa's Speaker of Parliament Frene Ginwala insists that the main responsibility falls on women themselves. "In any society and situation it is those most affected who must bring about change," she says. "Those who are privileged benefit from a system that marginalizes others. It is up to us, the women." ■

# The world reflects on Rwanda genocide

*from page 3*

United Nations, I acknowledge this failure and express my deep remorse."

**Painful recovery**

In Rwanda itself, the 10th anniversary will be an occasion to reflect on the genocide and the process of political and economic recovery over the past decade.

National reconciliation has been difficult, with some 80,000 genocide suspects still in prison awaiting trial. Many will be tried by local community tribunals known as *gacaca*, of which nearly 800 are functioning. Some 200 of the most serious cases of individuals accused of leading the genocide are being investigated or prosecuted by the UN's International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda, which sits in Arusha, Tanzania.

In the city of Cyangugu, which was virtually deserted after some 50,000 Tutsi were killed there in 1994, Rwandans "now appreciate that they have to live together, work together and build their country as one," Cyangugu provincial Governor Musa Fazil Harerimana told the Swiss news agency Hirondelle. The town itself is reviving, with new schools, hotels and bustling markets. Abandoned tea and coffee plantations are approaching pre-1994 production levels.

According to International Monetary Fund data, Rwanda's economy rebounded significantly after the restoration of peace, averaging more than 15 per cent annual growth between 1995 and 1999, and 7.4 per cent in 2000-02, well above the average for sub-Saharan Africa as a whole.

"Today, Rwanda has much to show the world about confronting the legacy of the past and tackling the challenge of recovery," Secretary-General Annan has observed. "It is demonstrating that it is possible to reach beyond tragedy and rekindle hope." ■

# Building peace in West Africa

*from page 13*

**Chambas:** That is the message we are getting. There is an understanding of the interrelatedness of the situation in different countries. In certain conflicts we have seen that instability in one country can trigger instability in a neighbouring country. So it is a healthy development that our partners are beginning to appreciate this, and to agree with us that we need to approach peace and security in a global fashion. They are seeing that you cannot create an island of peace and security in one country when there are so many hotspots of tension and conflict in the subregion.

***What do you see as the ideal division of labour between the international community and African governments in peacekeeping activities?***

**Chambas:** We deeply and seriously believe in finding African solutions to African problems. We have seen in Sierra Leone, Liberia and Côte d'Ivoire that ECOWAS has responded very actively and quickly. It has been involved directly in mediation efforts, in trying to find a political settlement. When it has become necessary for a military response, we have been willing to provide the personnel. Our limitation is that as developing countries, with poor economies, we do not have the financial resources to support our troops. This is where we have called on our partners to provide us with the materiel and the funding to enable us to engage in these missions. But we ourselves believe that it is our responsibility, which we are happy to take on, to provide the troops. If a larger force is required, then others can come and support us. But we are not shy about taking the initiative. ■

# AFRICA AGENDA

**14-16 April 2004, Dakar, (Senegal) — 3rd Asia-Africa Business Forum (AABF)** on the theme "Strategic Partnerships." E-mail <nicholas.gouede@undp.org>.

**24-25 April 2004, Washington, D.C. (USA) — International Monetary Fund and World Bank Group Spring Meetings.** Website <www.imf.org/external/spring/2004/index.htm>.

**29 April - 1 May 2004, Sacramento, California (USA) — 13th Annual Africa/Diaspora Conference** on the theme "African and African American Relations in US, Americas and Africa." Contact Professor Ernest E. Uwazie, tel (916) 278-6282, fax (916) 278-3429.

**9-12 May 2004, Cape Town (South Africa) — 2nd African Conference on Social Aspects of HIV/AIDS Research.** Contact Dr. Olive Shisana, tel (27-12) 302-2860, e-mail <mrousseau-maree@hsrc.ac.za>.

**20-22 May 2004, Toronto (Canada) — International Conference on Economics of Sustainable Forest Management.** Tel (416) 978-6196, fax (416) 978-3834, e-mail <shashi.kant@utoronto.ca>.

**20-23 May, Kampala (Uganda) — Conference of African Ministers of Finance, Planning and Economic Development,** on theme "Mainstreaming Trade Policy in National Development Strategies." E-mail <ecainfo@uneca.org>, website <http://www.uneca.org/cfm/2004/index.htm>.

**24-27 May 2004, Shanghai (China) — Scaling up Poverty Reduction: A Global Learning Process,** sponsored by the World Bank and its partners. Website <http://www.reducingpoverty.org>.

**25 May 2004, Johannesburg (South Africa) — Conference on good governance for Southern African NGOs.** Contact Yvonne Morgan, tel (27-11) 726-1148, e-mail <info@cafsouthernafrica.org.za>.

**1-2 June 2004, Accra (Ghana) — 8th West Africa Information and Communications Technologies Conference and Exhibition.** Contact Kwaku Baffour-Ansah, e-mail <kwaku@aitecafrica.com>.

**1-4 June 2004, Bonn (Germany) — International Conference for Renewable Energies.** Tel (49-6196) 79-4404, fax (49-6196) 79-4405, e-mail <info@renewables2004.de>, website <http://www.renewables2004.de>.

**2-4 June 2004, Maputo (Mozambique) — Africa Economic Summit 2004,** organized by the World Economic Forum. E-mail <africasummit@weforum.org>.

**10-12 June 2004, Durban (South Africa) — 3rd International Conference of the International Society for Equity in Health.** E-mail <leslie.nunez@utoronto.ca >.

**13-18 June 2004, São Paulo (Brazil) — 11th UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD-XI).** Tel (41-22) 907-1234, fax (41-22) 907-0043, e-mail <info@unctad.org>.

**19-21 July 2004, Dakar (Senegal) — International Conference on Traditional Healing and HIV/AIDS.** E-mail <info@africa-first.com>, website <http://www.africa-first.com/4thictm.asp>.

**30 August-3 September 2004, Port Louis (Mauritius) — 10-year Review of the Barbados Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States.** E-mail <mauritius2004@sidsnet.org>.

## WHAT HAS TAKEN PLACE

**1-4 February 2004, Cape Town (South Africa) — All Africa Minister's Conference on Education.** Tel (27-11) 313-3843, fax (27-11) 313-3450, e-mail <mzobanzim@nepad.org>.

**23-26 March 2004, Rustenburg (South Africa) — International Investors Conference** organized by Invest North West. Contact Lesley-Anne Welman, tel (27-14) 594-2570, fax (27-14) 594-2575, e-mail <events@inw.org.za>.

**5-8 April 2004, Cairo (Egypt) — ITU Telecom Africa 2004.** Contact Patricia Benoit-Guyot, tel (41-22) 730-6164, e-mail <telecom@itu.int>.

# AFRICA BOOKS

**A quand l'Afrique?** by Joseph Ki-Zerbo (Editions de l'Aube, La Tour d'Aigues, France, 2003; 206 pp; €19.50)

**African Environment and Development: Rhetoric, Programs, Realities,** eds. William G. Moseley and B. Ikubolajeh Logan (Ashgate Publishers, Hampshire, UK, 2004; 244 pp; hb £55.00)

**Survivants: Rwanda, dix ans après** by Esther Mujawayo and Souâd Belhaddad (Editions de l'Aube, La Tour d'Aigues, France, 2004; 304 pp; €21)

**Accounting for Horror: Post Genocide Debates in Rwanda** by Nigel Eltringham (Pluto Press, UK, 2004; 232 pp; pb £15.99)

**Structural Stability in an African Context** by Robert Kappel, Andreas Mehler and Henning Melber (Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden, 2003; 55 pp; £7.95; €10; SEK100)

**Rights and the Politics of Recognition in Africa,** eds. Harri Englund and Francis B. Nyamnjoh (Zed Books, New York, NY, US, 2004; 304 pp; hb $75, £49.95; pb $25.00, £15.95)

**L'Afrique et les défis de l'OMC,** ed. Dominique Njinkeu (Karthala, Paris, France, 2004; 376 pp; €28)

**Gouverner le Sénégal: Entre ajustement structurel et développement durable,** ed. Momar-Coumba Diop (Karthala, Paris, France, 2004; 304 pp; €25)

**Tourism in the New South Africa: Conflict, Community, and Development** by Garth Allen and Frank Brennan (Palgrave, New York, NY, US, 2004; 272 pp; hb $65.00; pb $24.50)

**The Democratic Republic of Congo: Economic Dimensions of War and Peace,** eds. Karen Ballentine and Michael Nest (Lynne Rienner, Boulder, CO, US, 2004; 175 pp; hb $15.95; pb £11.95)

**New Gender Studies from Cameroon and the Caribbean** by Joyce B. Endeley, Shirley Ardener et al (Department of Women & Gender Studies, University of Buea, Cameroon, 2004; 165 pp; pb £14.95, $24.95)

**Breaking Barriers, Creating New Hopes: Democracy, Civil Society and Good Governance in Africa** by Abdalla Bujra, Said Adejumobi et al (Development Policy Management Forum, Addis Ababa, 2004; 367 pp; pb £25.95, $42.95)

**Juge en Côte d'Ivoire: Désarmer la violence** by Epiphane Zoro-Bi (Karthala, Paris, France, 2004; 224 pp; €22)

**Democratic Transition in Anglophone West Africa** by Jibrin Ibrahim (Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa, Dakar, Senegal, 2004; 87 pp; pb £14.95, $24.95)

**International Law and Politics: An African Perspective** by Akin Oyebode (Bolabay Publications, Ikeja, Nigeria, 2004; 365 pp; hb £29.95, $49.95)

**Somalia Calling: The Crisis of Statehood and the Quest for Peace** by Kinfe Abraham (Ethiopian International Institute for Peace and Development, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 2004; 537 pp; £29.95, $49.95)

**Bushmen and Diamonds: (Un) Civil Society in Botswana** by Kenneth Good (Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden, 2003; 40 pp; £7.95; €10; SEK100)

**The Afterlife is Where We Come From: The Culture of Infancy in West Africa** by Alma Gottlieb (Chicago University Press, Chicago, IL, US, 2004; 404 pp; pb £18.50)

**AIDS and South Africa: The Social Expression of a Pandemic** by Kyle D. Kauffman and David Lindauer (Palgrave, New York, NY, US, 2004; 195 pp; pb £16.99)

**Achieving Schooling for All in Africa: Costs, Commitment and Gender** by Christopher Colclough (Ashgate Publishers, Hampshire, UK, 2004; 297 pp; hb £60.50)

**Black Women, Identity, and Cultural Theory: (Un)Becoming the Subject** by Kevin Everod Quashie (Rutgers University Press, Piscataway, NJ, US, 2004; 228 pp; pb £17.50)

**Limits to Liberation in Southern Africa,** ed. Henning Melber (Nordic Africa Institute, Uppsala, Sweden, 2003; 272 pp; £14.95; €18; SEK180)

**Zimbabwe's Unfinished Business: Rethinking Land, State and Nation in the Context of Crisis,** eds. Amanda Hammar, Brian Raftopoulos and Stig Jensen (Weaver Press, Harare, Zimbabwe, 2003; 328 pp; pb £20.95, $34.95)

AFRICA

# IN BRIEF

## UK launches Africa commission

Africa will be a top priority during the United Kingdom's presidencies of the Group of 8 industrialized nations and the European Union next year, British Prime Minister Tony Blair has pledged. Launching a new Commission for Africa in February, he said that while it would not be easy, the continent and the donors should aim to attain the international targets to reduce poverty, known as the Millennium Development Goals.

By next year, the commission, which Mr. Blair chairs, is expected to identify the global trends influencing Africa's development and propose effective policies to tackle the continent's problems. The commission will carry out a "comprehensive assessment" of the situation in Africa, looking at what has worked in the past and what has not, he said. About a dozen international figures including UK Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown, UN Economic Commission for Africa Executive Secretary K.Y. Amoako, South African Finance Minister Trevor Manuel and development activist and musician Bob Geldof will serve on the body.

Africa is the only continent that has grown poorer in the past 25 years, that has had its share of world trade halved in a generation and that received less than 1 per cent of direct foreign investment, Mr. Blair said.

"Any initiative that provides real solutions is a welcome step," commented Save the Children Director General Mike Aaronson. "But this must be more than just another report on Africa, with yet more targets, plans or strategies that fail to deliver. It must be judged on the concrete action it produces." ■

## UN mediates in Nigeria polio dispute

The UN is seeking to help resolve a dispute between religious and political authorities in northern Nigeria and the World Health Organization that has halted a vital polio immunization drive. The differences over the safety of UN-supplied vaccines endanger a global 15-year, $3 bn international effort to completely eradicate the crippling illness. In recent months the disease has spread from the region to eight neighbouring countries and parts of southern and western Nigeria previously considered polio free. In March Secretary-General Kofi Annan dispatched his Special Adviser on Africa, Under-Secretary-General Ibrahim Gambari, to Nigeria for eight days of meetings with senior political, health and religious leaders in a bid to end the impasse.

Africa Recovery / E. Hersch

*Ibrahim Gambari*

A fact-finding mission to the vaccine manufacturing plants in South Africa, India and Indonesia by senior government, religious and traditional leaders declared the vaccines safe. The findings pleased all the parties except Kano state governor Ibrahim Shekarau, who repeated his concerns about impurities in the vaccine. Nevertheless, at a press briefing at UN headquarters in New York on 17 March, Mr. Gambari said he was "cautiously optimistic" that the report would "lay the foundation for resuming immunizations throughout the country."

Mr. Gambari, a former Nigerian foreign minister and UN ambassador, said that immunizations could be resumed within a matter of weeks. "Nigeria is facing a number of important development challenges, as well as polio," he noted. "It's time to finish with this disease and move on." Governor Shekarau has indicated that the state would be willing to purchase and distribute vaccines from an Islamic supplier, which observers say could be the basis for the resumption of the vaccine drive there.

The crisis began last July when the head of the Kano state Sharia Supreme Council, which administers Islamic law, claimed that polio vaccines supplied by the UN children's agency UNICEF contained sterilization chemicals and the HIV virus that causes AIDS. Religious leaders in the largely Islamic region charged that the vaccines had been deliberately contaminated by the US government to reduce the size of the Muslim population as part of its war on terrorism.

The controversy is jeopardizing what the World Health Organization describes as the world's "best and perhaps last" chance to eliminate polio from the world entirely. Northern Nigeria is the only remaining polio "hotspot" not participating in the global eradication drive.

**Nearing extinction world polio cases, 2003**

| | |
|---|---|
| Nigeria | 300 |
| India | 215 |
| Pakistan | 96 |
| Niger* | 25 |
| Afghanistan | 8 |
| Egypt | 1 |

** includes new infections from Nigeria*

*Source: UN Africa Recovery from World Health Organization data*

## Credit ratings: opening the door to private financing

Ghana became the first country to benefit from a UN Development Programme (UNDP) initiative to help developing country governments obtain commercial credit ratings. The West African government received a B+ sovereign credit rating last September from the influential New York ratings firm Standard and Poors. The rating, a measure of a government's ability to meet its commercial financial obligations in full and on time, is a requirement for countries seeking to raise public sector money on commercial capital markets.

The programme is a joint effort by the UN and Standard and Poors. Through it, the UNDP Associate Administrator Zéphirin Diabré told US business leaders in late February, "we intend to support countries in their efforts to mobilize resources from private capital markets." Access to commercial capital sources, he continued, "would help African countries to tackle a broad range of poverty alleviation issues." Two more governments, Benin and Cameroon, have also received favourable ratings under the programme. Six other African countries already have sovereign credit ratings.

UNDP officials caution that most countries will not use their ratings to enter the private capital markets immediately, given their concerns over existing debt levels and the cost of commercial borrowing. The ratings could help them enter the market at a future date. More immediately, a favourable credit rating is one of the factors that potential foreign investors take into account when deciding where to invest. ■

# AFRICA WATCH

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM

## Africa to host civil society summit?

Delegates to the fourth World Social Forum (WSF) held in Mumbai, India, in January agreed to meet next in Brazil, but there is widespread expectation that the 2006 forum will be held in Africa. Although no formal request has been made, the idea is gaining currency among African and other civil society organizations and is expected to come up for discussion at the next African Social Forum (ASF), the related continental forum.

"The Americas have hosted it, Asia has hosted it," said Mr. Demba Diop, deputy secretary general of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity. "We think it's our time." The WSF is an annual meeting of civil society groups, initially held as an alternative to the World Economic Forum, a meeting of business and political leaders in the Swiss resort town of Davos. This was the first time that the gathering was held outside Brazil since its inception in the southern city of Porto Alegre, in 2001.

This year, the WSF drew more than 80,000 participants from more than 100 countries. Africa recorded its highest number of delegates to the forum since it began, with more than 400 representatives. "This was really large enough to put the continent's problems out to the world," noted the anti-debt group Afrodad. Unfortunately the African presence was not adequately prepared and organized, notes Afrodad, because the ASF secretariat was unable to organize a continental consultation ahead of the Mumbai meeting.

Delegates reiterated their frequent calls for debt cancellation, an end to structural adjustment conditions and a reversal of privatization, which they say has put social services out of the reach of the poor. Some African civil society groups believe that holding a WSF forum in Africa will bring attention to the pressing development challenges, such as HIV/AIDS, confronting the world's poorest region. But some are more cautious, questioning whether the continent has the organizational means and the mass movement base to provide the levels of participation achieved in Brazil and India. ■

SOUTHERN AFRICA

## Another year of hunger

A third successive year of drought has devastated the harvest in Southern Africa and will leave millions of people at risk of hunger over the coming year, the World Food Programme (WFP) predicts. Two of the six countries most affected, Lesotho and Swaziland, have already declared national emergencies, while estimates of the number of people in need of food aid in Zimbabwe alone exceed 7.5 million — nearly 60 per cent of that country's total population. The other countries expected to need food assistance are Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi.

The causes — drought, the late arrival of the seasonal rains and a severe shortage of seed, fertilizer and other inputs — have been exacerbated by the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The disease has devastated the agricultural workforce, weakened community coping mechanisms and left tens of thousands of families too poor to purchase food supplies. Although accurate harvest figures will only be available in May, Swazi government officials report that the total area planted is just 40 per cent of last year's acreage, and much of that is wilting from high temperatures and drought.

Since July 2003, WFP reports, it has provided 290,000 tonnes of food to nearly 5 million people in the area. But rations in Zimbabwe were halved late last year in the face of a $95 mn shortfall in donations. A reduced harvest in drought-stricken South Africa, the region's breadbasket, is expected to worsen the funding crunch by driving up the price of the staple food, maize, and forcing WFP to rely on costly imports. ■

NEPAD

## Regional electricity grids expanding

The governments of Kenya, Zambia and Tanzania have launched a $300 mn project to connect their national electric power grids. The announcement came in Lusaka on 26 February, and construction on the first phase of the project, a 650-kilometre transmission line from the Zambian power station at Pensulo to Mbeya in Tanzania is expected to get under way in 2007. The project will allow Kenya to tap some 800 megawatts a year in excess Zambian hydro-electric power through the Tanzanian grid, strengthening regional trade and economic integration.

The project is an extension of the Southern African Power Pool (SAPP) programme launched in 1995 by the Southern African Development Community and subsequently integrated into the Pan-African Transmission Grid initiative of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), the continent's economic development programme. SAPP has already received some $200 mn in World Bank financing to expand and rationalize the regional market in energy, and the Bank has indicated interest in the Kenya-Zambia expansion. Over the long term, NEPAD envisages connecting SAPP to its West African counterpart and then on to Egypt, creating an electric power grid covering much of sub-Saharan Africa. ■

*The UN Secretary-General has appointed former Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy as his special envoy to help resolve the border dispute between Ethiopia and Eritrea. Mr. Axworthy's political career has spanned 27 years. As a result of his leadership role in pushing through the Ottawa Treaty, a landmark global treaty banning anti-personnel land mines, he was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. In 2001 he led an Oxfam humanitarian assessment mission to Pakistan to evaluate the needs of Afghan refugees, and the following year he led a Commonwealth election observer team in Sierra Leone. He also is chairman of the Advisory Board of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty.*